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THE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

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MONK:

AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

BY M. GUIZOT.

GEORGE MONCK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

From the Original by Sir Peter Lely, with the permission of His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Guizot, François
Guillaume

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

FROM THE FRENCH OF M. GUIZOT.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY THE

HON. J. STUART WORTLEY.

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INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR.

THE following performance appeared a short time since, in the "*Revue Française*," a French periodical publication* commenced at Paris during the last year; and although it bore no author's name, it is believed that M. Guizot made no secret of its having proceeded from his pen. It was entitled, "*Monk: Etude Historique*," and the following note was annexed to it by the "*directeur*" of the publication in question. "This fragment, for the use of which we are indebted to a generous partiality, was not intended for publication. The author had written it as a study, for his own use, and in the sole view of supplying himself with a thoroughly complete and accurate estimate of the character of Monk, of the part which he played

in the restoration of the Stuarts, and of the secret springs of that great event."

Whether M. Guizot has attained his object or no, it is for the reader to determine. The present editor pretends to no more than the adoption of the work into the English language, and the addition of such elucidations and remarks as he thought might contribute to render it more complete. But having been himself struck with its merits as the portraiture of a remarkable man in remarkable times, he ventures to hope for the concurrence of the reader, in pronouncing it worthy to be rescued from a mere ephemeral existence, and to be rendered more generally accessible, as a portion of the historical literature of this country, than it could ever have become in the pages of a foreign periodical.

The name of Monk stands second in the annals of that troubled interval during which the ancient monarchy of England was suspended; and his life necessarily comprehends a history of the events which marked its termination; yet he has received but little notice from posterity, corresponding with so conspicuous a station. Hobbes, in his "*Behemoth, or Epitome of the Civil Wars of England,*" makes one of his personages con-

clude the dialogue of which that work consists, by saying, "You have told me little of the General till now in the end, but truly I think the bringing up of his little army entirely out of Scotland up to London, was the best stratagem that is extant in history."* M. Guizot makes a remark much of the same nature, in the first of the following pages; and no one who studies attentively the records of that period, can fail of being forcibly struck with the sudden blaze of individual power which burst forth towards its close,—shone supreme during the great revolution with which it ended,—and then as suddenly sank back into the twilight from which it had so lately issued. But we cannot fail to discern also that there must be something more than simple accident to account for this phenomenon, and it is in Monk's life and character that the true causes are to be found. His earlier career was inconspicuous, more from the chances of its course, than from any lack of qualifications in himself; and upon closer examination it must be admitted to exhibit proofs of the requisite capabilities for eminence, whenever his fortunes might furnish the occasion.

* See Maseres' Select Tracts, p. 653.

Notwithstanding, however, his high situation among his contemporaries, and his fame in history, there have been but two original accounts of his life given to the world;* and neither of them is such as to contribute much towards rendering it either interesting or properly understood. They are both (though it is fair to add in different degrees) overlaid with clumsy flattery, disfigured by a graceless style, and destitute as well of instructive inquiry as of skilful narration. They have both, however, one recommendation,—that of having been written by authors personally acquainted with their subject; and as, whenever they can apparently be trusted,

* In this assertion of course I do not mean to speak of such as are to be found in the Lives English and Foreign, the Biographia Britannica, Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, and similar collections, which are of no greater authority in the case of Monk, than of the many other personages to whose memory their pages are devoted. In some of these works, indeed, are to be found certain circumstances not elsewhere recorded; still they are not the accounts of contemporaries personally cognisant of himself or his actions; and except where they borrow from known sources, such as those here mentioned in the text, we are left in the dark as to the nature and value of their authorities. Such cases, moreover, are few; and these lives are, for the most part, mere compilations from the more original repositories of information.

they form the main authority for many of the events which they relate, it will be desirable to notice each in a few words.

The earliest life of Monk was published in the year 1671, (which was the next after his death,) "by Thomas Gumble, D.D., one of his chaplains," according to the announcement on its title-page. In 1672 it was translated into French, and published in Paris. Of the writer nothing is known beyond what we can gather from himself, from his fellow chaplain Price, and from his fellow biographer Skinner. The two latter tell us that he was originally vicar of Wickham, (Wycombe,) in Buckinghamshire, in which town Mr. Scot had lived; and was burgess of that place."* When Cromwell sent a council to act with Monk in Scotland in the year 1655, Gumble was appointed preacher to this council by the interest, as it was supposed, of Mr. Scot. That employment placed him at Edinburgh, from whence, however, he went frequently to Dalkeith; at first to assist Price in his duty, and afterwards "to hear and report news."† The General thus became speedily acquainted with him, and was struck with his

* Price, in Mas. Sel. Tr. 725. Skinner, 133.

† Mas. Sel. Tr. 716, 725.

capacities for business, which were greatly enhanced by his connexion with Scot, then Secretary of State, and by the constant correspondence which he maintained with him. The General, therefore, after some conference with Gumble, "made him his minister of state," in which capacity he afterwards did Monk great service by his activity and intelligence; "for he had an excellent dexterity at spiriting a cause."*

When the council was discontinued, after the fall of Richard, Monk seems to have retained him near his person by adding him as a second chaplain to his own establishment, which post he afterwards filled alone, upon the promotion of Price, until his patron's death; and he appears to have been continued in it by Christopher, the second Duke of Albemarle, since he so styles himself in the dedication of his work to that nobleman. What his real opinions were, it is not very easy to ascertain; or whether he had any, apart from that time-serving obsequiousness which pervades every sentence of his published narrative. Price and Skinner, who must both have known him well, assure us that he was "a strenuous asserter of freedom," and "a zealous commonwealth's

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 733.

man, insomuch that he could not conceal his discontents against the usurpation of Cromwell and his son, in setting up the government of a single person."* Price moreover states, that he was the more acceptable to the General "because he had not engaged into a congregational church, as his brother chaplains had done;"—that is to say, like others appointed by the parliament. The same writer adds, that when the old parliament was revived after the protectorate, he was somewhat better pleased; but discovering that its members meant nothing better than the continuance of their own power, "as a generous person he did not dissemble his discontents, but would speak them frankly and boldly enough to the General;" and he was supposed by its successors at Wallingford House to be "the *only* man," and "the grand incendiary," upon whose advice Monk acted when he declared against them. It is probable from this account that he was originally one of those clergymen who adopted presbyterian and republican opinions; and as he certainly does not appear to have truckled either to the Cromwells or their successors, it is but fair to conclude that he was actuated by some better

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 717. Skinner, 133.

motive than mere servility. However this may have been, such opinions seem to have taken no very deep root. When he had once set to work to promote the Restoration, he was troubled with neither memory nor scruple in his efforts to efface them; and we find him extolling his master not more for his own merits, than for his restitution of divine rights to the king, and to the church of her "sacred patrimony."* Of the spirit in which he handles these subjects I cannot but give one example, in the following strange sentence upon the arrival of Charles's declaration from Breda, in 1660. "I must now," says he, "leave all reflections, for kings are gods, according to the scriptures, and their counsels are divine; and we must not pry into them, but reverence and adore them at the greatest distance!"† Of course he has been plentifully abused, and he richly deserves it.

In the Retrospective Review‡ there is a copious article on his Life of Monk, which, however, if it were anything more than a mere abstract of its contents, would be rendered less worthy of notice even than the rubbish to be found in the original,

* Gumble, 471. † Gumble, 292.

‡ Vols. xiii. 265, xiv. 153.

by the bitterness of party spirit which the writer betrays in a few sentences. The biographer of Monk in the Lives English and Foreign* says, Gumble's History is "so full of flattery and falsehood, that we have had very little helps from him;" and Skinner merely notices it as "a hasty and loose account published to serve a private occasion;"† which occasion we may presume to have been the utter obliteration of all stains contracted from heterodoxy and republicanism.

Nevertheless I do not think, after an attentive examination of it, that it is to be absolutely rejected. He was an eye-witness of almost every occurrence which he records, from the year 1655 downwards, and was constantly about the person and in the confidential counsels of the principal actor in them. He had therefore great means, at least, of knowing the truth. He published immediately after Monk's death, when almost all the parties concerned were alive; yet so far is he from meeting with contradiction, that almost all the facts which are capable of confirmation by others, are corroborated by Price, by Skinner, by Clarges, &c.; and, therefore, although his opinions, his interpretations, his comments, are

* Vol. ii. 166. † Pref. p. 2.

worth little; and although large deductions are to be made for his prejudices and self-interest, we have no right to conclude that in what remains (especially where these do not demand it) he has falsified the truth. I may assume that M. Guizot is of the same opinion, from the ample use which he makes of his authority.

The other Life of Monk was published, in the year 1723, by "Mr. William Webster, curate of St. Dunstan's in the West;" who, in his preface, as editor of the work, gives the following account of the manuscript from whence it was taken. "The copy was found in the study of Mr. Owen, late curate at Bocking, in Essex. I have traced it up, by a probable tradition in that neighbourhood, to Dr. Skinner, who lived at Colchester, and was physician to the Duke of Albemarle, when residing at New Hall, in Essex.* I have since compared it with some of the doctor's bills from off the file at Colchester, and, from the similitude of hands, I believe it to be the doctor's own hand-writing."† He afterwards says he

* Mr. Rose, in his observations on Fox, among his other inaccuracies, calls him chaplain; and Serjeant Heywood, who abuses Rose for his carelessness, coolly copies the blunder from him. See Vindic. of Fox's History.

† Editor's Pref. to Skinner, p. xcii.

found a literal transcript of it at Colchester, which appeared to have been made for the press. The author, in his own preface, speaks of his having "heretofore published something of a like nature, though in another language," and of his having "had the honour to know him (the Duke of Albemarle) only in the last years of his life."* There can remain no doubt, therefore, that the said life is the production of Dr. Skinner, who was his medical attendant during that period, and who had before added a third part, entitled "*Motus Compositi,*" to Bate's Latin work called "*Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Angliâ;*" which consists of a mere scanty summary of the events of the Restoration, possessing no sort of merit.

Morant, in his history of Colchester, mentions the residence there of "the learned Thomas Skinner, M. D., being then physician to General Monk;"† but in speaking of his works, he confounds him with Stephen Skinner, author of the "*Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ;*" and Wood, in a passage quoted by Webster, says, "Thomas Skinner, of St. John's College, Oxford, was actually created doctor of physic, by virtue

* Author's Pref. p. 1, 3. † B. ii. p. 15.

of the letters of the chancellor of the university,* which say that he was for some time bred at Cambridge; but was forced to leave that university in the times of usurpation, by reason of the illegal oaths and other impositions offered to him, whereby he was prevented taking his degree: and this doctor hath added a third Latin part, which he calls *Motus Compositi*, afterwards translated into English by another hand, with a preface, by a person of quality."† This diploma seems to have been conferred in the year 1672, so that he is not quite strictly described as *physician* to the Duke of Albemarle, who died in 1670. He was probably his Colchester apothecary. By a passage in his own preface to the Life, where he expresses his wonder that "the history and actions of this illustrious person have (*for ten years since his death*) lain altogether neglected,"‡ it appears that he wrote in 1680; and again, speaking of that same work, he says, "We had the opportunity to peruse a great part of those papers rescued from the fire in London, besides other memorials and MSS. relating to the time

* James Duke of Ormonde.

† Fasti Oxon. ii. 333. Walker's Edit. ‡ Page 2.

and actions we describe. We had also the privilege of frequent and particular discourse and information from more persons of honour and quality than were immediately concerned or employed in the principal affairs of that age, so that the reader may believe we have written with some convenient light by us."* Besides this, it is reasonable to suppose that during his frequent attendance upon Monk, he must often have heard allusions, remarks, and statements, made by the General, as to the events of his former life; and therefore, being nowhere very improbable, or inconsistent either with others or with himself, there is no ground for rejecting him as less worthy of credit than any other biographer who may have a bias (which in his case is marked by no great extravagance) in favour of his subject.

In addition to these two professed Lives of Monk, we have a short work by Price, who was more properly his own domestic chaplain before the Restoration, entitled "*The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration, laid open to public view*," which amounts to a partial biography of the chief agent in that event—his

* Page 6.

patron. M. Guizot, in his *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre*,* says, that after much research he can ascertain nothing more concerning him than what is told in Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses;* from whence it appears that he was born in the Isle of Wight—brought up at Eton—appointed, on the 10th of May, 1660, to preach before the House of Commons at the thanksgiving—made soon afterwards a fellow of Eton College—subsequently presented to a prebend at Salisbury—and lastly, preferred to the Rectory of Petworth. He published his work in the year 1680, in the shape of a small 12mo. volume; but it has since been reprinted at the end of the collection of "Select Tracts," edited by M. Cursitor Baron Maseres, in 1815;† and we may gather something more touching his history from his own pen. From thence it would appear that his brother had been "a great sufferer for his Majesty's father," (meaning Charles I.,) "even to the loss of all; for otherwise," he says, "I had not been found

* *Notice sur Price*, p. vi. prefixed to the Tract in question.

† From this reprint of Price, as being more accessible than the original, I have made my quotations throughout.

in that employment (of chaplain.) And it seems I was so well known in Scotland, as soon as I came there, that some of the remonstrating clergy, and of our own officers too, told the General that he had entertained a cavalier for his chaplain."*

By his own account of himself, indeed, in all places, it seems clear that he was a concealed royalist and episcopalian; but he must have been also one of the very many who during those times conformed to a presbyterian church, and complied with a republican government. Baron Maseres observes, that his history of the Restoration "has been generally considered as the most authentic and exact account of it that has ever been published."† A later writer has cast an imputation of discredit on him, which the reader will find elsewhere so fully noticed‡ as to render a farther discussion in this place unnecessary; but I must add that the performance bears, to my mind, a strong stamp of truth in its details, which it would require unexceptionable authority to annul. Notwithstanding the close intimacy with Monk to which he pretends, there is no boasting of it; and in point of fact, there could be no

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 710. † Pref. p. lxxxi.

‡ See Note, p. 108.

stronger proof of the confidence which was actually reposed in him, and of the attachment felt for him by his patron, than the circumstance that, in spite of Monk's vigilant and never-slumbering caution, he was retained in a confidential post, even after his known predilections had excited a notorious suspicion of his presence. But casual expressions often prove more than graver passages; and there is one little circumstance which seems to exhibit so much ingenuousness, as should, I think, enhance his credit. It is, that where he mentions the interview between Monk and the French ambassador, M. Bourdeaux, instead of inserting his own account of that remarkable occurrence, he simply refers to the page in Baker's Chronicle, where it is told by Clarges; and adds only these few words; "Whither I refer the reader, because I knew nothing of it till I found it there."*

If he had been desirous to make the most of his intimacy with Monk, and if he had been willing to sacrifice truth for the purpose of raising his own importance, surely he would never have voluntarily inserted this plain confession of ignorance, when he could so easily have substituted an in-

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 796.

sinuation, and with scarcely any risk of exposure, that he had been privy to an incident of such moment in the secret history of the Restoration, and implying so much loyal merit in the parties concerned. His narrative comprises the events only of about ten months,—from the beginning of August 1659, to the end of May 1660,—and therefore is but a small contribution to the life of Monk; but it is replete with curious and pregnant details for the short period which it embraces.

There is one more authority as to Monk's conduct in the Restoration, to which we have already alluded. It is to be found in a continuation to Sir Richard Baker's "*Chronicle of the Kings of England*," which is known to have been finished by Dr., afterwards Sir Thomas, Clarges, brother-in-law to the General, and much employed by him during that period. The original work came down no lower than the reign of Charles I. This continuation extends over the first thirteen years of that of Charles II.; or, in other words, over the whole interval which includes the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Of the writer, some notice will be found in pages 69 and 94 (notes) of the present volume. And we shall

meet with frequent mention of him in the narrative. He appears to have served Monk ably, as a discreet and trusty agent; and after the return of Charles, made a considerable figure in the parliaments of his reign and that of James; so that he had the faculties, as well as the opportunities, which would qualify him to write of the times in which he lived. But his composition does not pretend to be, in any sense, a personal history of Monk; and it is only incidentally that he becomes an important authority as to his career, when in the course of his general subject he speaks of transactions wherein they jointly bore a part, or of which he was himself an immediate and an observant witness. Wherever he is competent to give information, there is reason to believe him trust-worthy; for we have not only the general testimony of Burnet* to his honesty, and of Evelyn† to his search after the truth, but we may venture to infer some public confidence in his authority from the number of editions which were successively required of the "Chronicle" with its continuation, after the first appearance of the latter in 1674. The whole work, however,

* Vol. i. p. 168. Oxf. Edit. † Memoirs, iii. 416, note.

has long since lost the credit which it then enjoyed as a standard record; it has sunk into obscurity from having been amply superseded in more modern times, and is now scarcely known except to the researches of the student.

From sources of information such as I have described,—thus uninviting and imperfect,—no one has yet attempted to draw together the materials necessary for thoroughly delineating and explaining the character of one of the most remarkable and least understood personages in history. Between the elaborate investigations which have been so repeatedly pursued into the previous subversion, and the subsequent transfer, of the monarchy, comparatively little attention has been bestowed on its intervening restoration. It may, indeed, be said to have followed more obviously in the natural train of events, as a prompt and compendious solution of difficulties, —a refuge from everlasting contentions,—and an inevitable effort for relief from that hopeless flood of folly, knavery, and tyranny, which had imperilled and well nigh overwhelmed the entire fabric of national freedom, whereon the country had expended so much of its peace, and its

people of their blood. In short, the event has in it somewhat less of a political problem; for which reason, probably, it has been usually passed over with far less inquiry, and its curious antecedent and attendant circumstances have attracted scantier notice; while more mystery than appears to be warranted by the facts, has been allowed to hang upon the track of the chief agent in that memorable revolution;—the part which he really bore in its conduct and completion has been miscalculated;—and an utter oblivion of the less prominent portions of his individual history has led to ignorance and misapprehension of his powers and designs. It was in some measure to supply to himself this deficiency that M. Guizot tells us he undertook the following study; and it is because he appears to me to have done much towards the attainment of his object,—an opinion in which I hope not to stand alone,—that I venture to present it to the British public as an acceptable contribution to British history.

It only remains for me to add, that my endeavour, in the text of the ensuing pages, has been to execute a translation, and not a paraphrase. It is not the general sense alone that properly

belongs to an original author, but the structure of the language,—the choice of words,—the turn of phrase; and to transfer, without transforming, these, should, I conceive, be the aim of every translator, at the same time that he preserves the meaning. I have attempted, therefore, to obtain a close, though not a servile version. But I should observe also, that wherever there occurs a direct quotation from an English writer, I have carefully avoided a re-translation of it from the French, and have recurred to the original; and I have, in all such cases, subjoined the appropriate reference. Of these, M. Guizot has scarce afforded one throughout the piece: I have deemed it unnecessary to furnish them for the leading events and public transactions, whereof mention is to be found in the ordinary histories, but have annexed them wherever a personal anecdote, a literal saying, or a detailed incident appears to demand a specific authority; and I have, besides, supplied such additions, illustrations, and corrections, as appear from time to time to be required by the narrative. I can only hope that some of these will be found interesting. At any rate, I think I see merit in the original, which should

it was in their sole power to accomplish, can be through them alone made thoroughly intelligible.

George Monk, second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a gentleman of the county of Devon, was born on the 6th December, 1608, at the manor-house of Potheridge,* the inheritance of his family, which was among the most ancient and respected in that county. But the property had been for some time past in great disorder, and

* Potheridge, or Pon-the-ridge, being, according to Prince, (Worthies of Devon, p. 464) "an ascendant seat upon the ridge of a small hill," is a village in the parish of Merton, about four miles S. W. of Torrington, where this family is said to have been settled from the time of Henry III. (See also Pole's Devon.)

There seems, however, to be some doubt as to the precise locality of Monk's birth; for Lyson (Mag. Brit. Devonsh.) says, it took place at Lancros or Landcross, near Bideford; and asserts, that he was baptized there, December 11, 1608. The question has little interest, perhaps, beyond the limits of Devonshire. It is, however, clear that he considered Potheridge as his native place, for he took one of his titles from it, and built a large mansion there, of which, according to Lyson, the "magnificent stables still remain," though the house was pulled down in 1784. The property is said now to belong to Lord Rolle.

There is only one writer who gives any different account of Monk's origin, (vide account of the Restoration, by M. Riordan de Muscry, subjoined to Monteth's History of the Rebellion.) He is there said to have been born in Middlesex, but upon no authority whatever; and the above facts sufficiently contradict the assertion.

Sir Thomas, like many other gentlemen of that day, supported his rank only by ruinous expedients. George Monk was but seventeen years old when Charles I. travelled to Plymouth, the very year of his accession, in 1625, to superintend the outfit of the expedition which he projected against Spain. The gentlemen of the county assembled round the king, eager to appear before his brilliant court with a display worthy of the occasion. Sir Thomas made preparations for it like others; but, alarmed by the proceedings of a creditor who threatened him with arrest, he sent his son George to Exeter, to persuade the under-sheriff, by the offer of a small sum, to delay the execution of the warrant. The under-sheriff accepted the money, promised what was asked, and a few days after, paid, doubtless, on the other side, he caused Sir Thomas to be publicly arrested in the midst of the gentlemen assembled on the king's way. Indignant at this treachery, young Monk hurried to Exeter, and so dealt with the man of law, that the latter would have had difficulty in escaping from his attack, without the assistance of some neighbours. It was necessary that he should place himself beyond the reach of consequences from such an adventure. The squadron destined

to cruise before Cadiz, in the hope of intercepting the Spanish galleons was on the point of sailing; Sir Richard Greenville, Monk's near relative, served with it; and young Monk, confided to his care, found an asylum on board his ship, and proceeded as a volunteer; thus cast by chance, and almost at his outset from childhood, into a career to which at the same time he was destined by his parents and his inclination.

Fortune chose but ill for him his first campaign and his first patron. Sir Richard Greenville,* too young himself to have yet found occa-

* Clarendon calls him (v. 215, Oxf. Ed. 1826) "the greatest plunderer of this war," and gives numerous instances of the temper mentioned in the text. His wife, who had an independent property, was one of his earliest and principal victims. He was major of a regiment of foot in the Cadiz expedition. Skinner, page 13, says, "that Monk served under him only as a private soldier, and obtained an ensigncy under Sir J. Burroughs, in the ensuing armament." Gumble makes no mention of the former fact; and it is not very likely that he would be lowered to the position of a private soldier, in our sense of the term, under his near relation. It is probable that he went out unattached, and as a kind of volunteer aid-de-camp. Sir R. Greenville, in his Journal of the Expedition to the Isle de Rhè, published in 1724, (p. 10,) mentions him as distinguished on that occasion for a brilliant service; in having brought important intelligence from England to the fleet by land, and in so doing passed through the army before Rochelle, at great hazard of his life. He would seem, therefore, not to have sailed with it.

sion for the display of that harsh and overbearing rapacity, which he carried later into the civil war, was nevertheless little fitted to exercise a wholesome influence over his relation; and the example of the young courtiers who embarked with the fleet to seek in a hazardous expedition some distraction from their frivolous pleasures, might easily be dangerous to the younger son of a ruined house, with no wealth beyond economy, and with no prospect beyond his own exertions. But George Monk already felt that firm and decided bent, which is rather fortified than destroyed by a contrary examample; and amid the disorder of his paternal home—amid the licence of his first comrades—he contracted those tastes and habits of order which in after times had so much influence upon his life and his success. The Cadiz attempt, ill-conducted as it was ill-conceived, failed under the most calamitous circumstances; and the following year, Monk enlisted with the rank of ensign in the expedition of the Duke of Buckingham against the Isle de Rhè, and witnessed a second time the spectacle of shame and disaster which may signalise the presumptuous ignorance of a favourite. He retained a bitter recollection of it, which he often expressed in recounting the occur-

rences of his youth. Finally, in 1629, one year after his return from the Isle de Rhè, he set out for Holland, where he entered the regiment of the Earl of Oxford.

Germany and the Low Countries were, at this period, the resort of those young Englishmen, whose taste, or the state of whose fortunes, drove them to the profession of arms; as well as of those whose activity languished in their own country, which was at peace with Europe, and not yet embroiled by its own liberties. Whosoever was tormented with a longing for active employment, went to satisfy it in distant wars, which possessed no interest for him save that of the mere game of war, with its emotions and its chances. Whosoever felt capable of reaching distinction by his own valour, went to dispose of it for pay, where he could best find a market for it. Thus was formed a race of men inured to danger; careful of their interests; at all times obedient to those habits of calculation which made a traffic of their lives; blending brilliant action with low sentiments; indifferent to right, yet attached to certain duties; and trained by their condition to dispense with virtues, though at the same time, exempt from many vices. Such were the greater part of those officers who

were at that time sent from England to instruct and advance themselves in foreign wars, and who, a little later, under the name of Soldiers of Fortune, played a considerable part in her own civil contest. They were destitute of principle, yet they were not wanting in a certain sense of honour; and when fate launched them amid the vicissitudes of party, they were not easily found to break the engagement which they had first contracted; nor often induced to quit, before their time, the standard to which they had hired their courage and fidelity. They were bound only slightly to their father-land, but animated with a lively sentiment of fellowship for the men whose dangers they had shared; and they thus formed doubtful citizens, but admirable comrades. Although indifferent to the sufferings of a population, they knew how to share those of the soldier; and were so orderly, even in their violence, that they did not aggravate it by the evils of confusion. They were rough and severe, but not ferocious; their avarice submitted to the laws of discipline; and that shameful zeal for plunder which rendered the cavalier gentry the terror of

England, has seldom been imputed to the soldiers of fortune.* Monk was one of them. Su-

* There is no room for exception against the truth of this charge. Every record of the times assures us that the excesses of the cavaliers were frequent,—indefensible in themselves,—and ruinous to the cause in which they were committed. They arose partly from the habits of that class of men, and partly from the perverseness of party hatred which prompted them to defy the ostentatious purity of their adversaries. But it is unfair to forget that they had some better excuses for their acts of plunder. We should recollect, that the royal party was that which, from the very nature and origin of the quarrel, was in the greatest difficulty with respect to resources. The parliament had at the very outset not only assumed to itself the whole right and power to levy taxes, but had forbidden obedience in such matters to any other authority; a prohibition likely to find a very general welcome. Yet, notwithstanding all the advantages of the parliament, we find that they were driven to devices of all sorts,—tonnage and poundage,—adventurers' schemes,—loans from the city,—and interest of eight per cent.—for the purpose of raising money; and were, after all, compelled to pass a vote with threats of disarming and securing the citizens of London, and others, who "had not contributed as they ought to the charge of the commonwealth;" (Clar. iii. 243,) which was, in fact, nothing better than state plunder. On the other hand, after the king and queen, as well as the two universities, had melted their plate, and every source had been exhausted, we find that the royal army was still wretchedly ill-paid and ill-provided, while, at the same time, the stories of Mr. Sacheverell (Clar. iii. 250,) and of Lords Dencourt and Kingston, (Clar. iii. 247,) which Clarendon tells us were far

perior to all by his faculties, similar to all in his tastes and exigencies, his talents rose with

from singular, shows how little they obtained from the voluntary aid of their friends. It is not wonderful, therefore, that though "the military saints were not often sullied with deeds of plunder," (Sir W. Scott, Woodstock, p. 8,) their adversaries should have been dreaded for their irregular exactions.

But M. Guizot here draws a distinction, not only between the puritans and the royalists, but between the cavalier gentry and the soldiers of fortune, which I think is scarcely justified as a characteristic contrast by what we know of each. We have already seen (note, p. 4,) how Sir Richard Greenville stood in this respect. It must be recollected, that he was a soldier of fortune, of precisely the same degree as Monk, and he must be taken as a sample of his class. Other instances of the same sort were not wanting. Indeed, their character in this respect was notorious. A great writer of our own times, whom we have just quoted, has given us a description of one of them, which, he himself tells us, "has been approved by the most competent judges;" and which I shall cite in support of my opinion. He thus speaks of what he elsewhere calls "their irresistible thirst for plunder." "A cavalier of honour, in search of his fortune, might change his service as he would his shirt, and might plunder the peasantry subjected to him by the fate of war with the most unrelenting rapacity." (Leg. of Montrose, Intr. p. x.) "To men of his stamp Grotius applies the severe character, 'Nullum vitæ genus est improbius quam eorum, qui sine causæ respectu, mercede conducti militant.' To these mercenary soldiers, as well as to the needy gentry with whom they were mixed in command, and who easily imbibed the same opinions, the success of the late short invasion of Eng-

events; but not so his sentiments with his station. He performed great things without becoming great; and retained, among the fortunes of the man who changed the face of an empire, the habits of mind and heart, which had been engendered by the obscure condition of a mercenary soldier.

After a few years of service, he obtained a company in the regiment of Lord Goring, almost exclusively composed of volunteers, for the most part rich and well-born, and consequently but ill-disposed to submit to the rigours of discipline. Monk arrived among them alone; well instructed in his profession; invested with the authority which a notable and noted courage gives among men of spirit; grave, exact, regular in his deportment, at least for a soldier; and, if we may believe Gumble, his chaplain, punctual in fulfilling

land in 1641 was a sufficient reason for renewing so profitable an experiment. The good pay and free quarters of England had made a feeling impression upon the recollection of these military adventurers; and the prospect of again levying £850 a-day came in place of all arguments, whether of state or of morality." (Leg. of Montrose, p. 18.) He is, to be sure, talking of the *Scottish* specimens; but the characteristics of this class were confined to no particular nation; and it is surely somewhat unjust to extol such men at the expense of the cavalier gentry, with all their faults.

his religious duties, which he perhaps counted at that time among the duties of his profession.* He soon assumed over those whom he commanded the certain ascendancy which belongs to the man who is formed by nature to command; he made himself at once beloved and obeyed by them; and several in the course of their after lives thanked him for the benefit which they had received from his severity.

He had served in Holland for near ten years, when, towards the end of the year 1638, he was placed in winter quarters at Dort. His soldiers committed some disorders, and the magistrates of the town desired to take some cognizance of the offence. Monk maintained that a court-martial alone had a right to try it. The affair was brought before the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, then stadtholder; he had in a similar case decided in favour of military authority; but this time, whether from respect for the privileges of the town of

* This is said by Gumble, (p. 8.) (who, however, at this time, knew nothing of him;) but, of course, without the slight sneer which M. Guizot has added. That sneer seems to be hardly justified. If Monk had then any motives for religious hypocrisy, he must have had many more during the civil war; and yet there seems no ground for charging him with it, notwithstanding his intimacy with Cromwell and others of that stamp.

Dort, or from change of counsels, the government gave its judgment for the magistrates, and Monk was obliged to quit Dort for quarters far less convenient. Wounded in a soldier's honour, he thenceforth determined to abandon the service of Holland; and the more willingly, because England seemed on the point of offering acceptable employment for his talents and his courage.

The religious differences, which, for above a year, had roused Scotland against the court of Whitehall, were already approaching to their crisis,—the prelude to so many others. On either side the preparations for attack or defence were pursued with activity; and to maintain a war, detested by his people, and despised by his courtiers, (to whom it could bring only annoyance without advantage,) Charles sought the assistance of these officers, formed at a distance from England, indifferent to the political opinions of their country, and even accustomed to set little value on their own. They flocked to his army; which was recruited also by a large nunber of country gentlemen, eager and proud to approach the court. Monk had in his childhood received some presbyterian notions; but he was little troubled with religious scruples, and he enlisted without repugnance

in the service of Anglican intolerance* against the liberty of conscience then demanded by the pres-

* The epithet here chosen by M. Guizot, implies that this war was instigated and encouraged by the Church of England; an assertion which conveys an unfair idea of its origin. Ludlow indeed, (p. 4, edit. 1771,) as might be expected, calls the clergy "the chief advisers and promoters of this violence;" but no impartial writer would build upon this loose expression of their bitter enemy. Clarendon, in his account of the first quarrel with Scotland, manifestly disapproves of the rashness of these proceedings; yet notwithstanding his praise of Laud, he makes it sufficiently clear that the attempt upon the Scotch church was a wilful fancy of the king's, "who had exceedingly set his heart upon the matter," (Clar. i. 151,) and that he followed it up by the encouragement of Laud, chiefly with the aid of Juxon, Wren, and a few other bishops, to whom we must ascribe the merit or impute the blame. A convocation was indeed called at Westminster to sanction it, in 1640, but it sat not without some compulsion, as we may gather from Whitelocke, (p. 43, edit. 1682,) who tells us that a guard was set about Westminster Abbey; "yet were not these seats very easy; they were in danger of the king's displeasure if they rose, and of the people's fury if they sate." The truth is, that there was too much dissension in the church at that moment to admit of any such general attack. The parties of Calvinists and Arminians, with their various subdivisions, had spread themselves too widely; and there is no reason to suppose that, if left to itself, the church would have promoted the flagrant aggression in question. The intolerance indeed was tyrannical enough; for let it be recollected, that it was an endeavour to coerce an independent church and people beneath a notorious encroachment upon its constitution and discipline.

byterians of Scotland; and full of zeal for the cause which presented him with employment, he obtained, by the interest of the Earl of Leicester, a connexion of his family, the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of the Earl of Newport, general of the ordnance.

The people of England desired not the war; the first blows were delayed by public aversion; and before blood had flowed the treaty of Berwick proclaimed that the campaign was over, but without soothing the animosities which gave rise to it. The armies, dismissed in forty-eight hours by the terms of the treaty, remained ready to re-assemble on the first summons. The new explosion was not long expected; and on the 1st of August, 1640, Monk, at his post on the borders of Scotland, by the banks of the Tyne, took part in the affair of Newburn, the only engagement in this war; and for a moment saved the English from some of its disastrous results. The Scots, after having passed the Tyne almost without resistance, marched towards the quarters of the Earl of Newport in order to possess themselves of the artillery. In the king's army disorder had not waited for the enemy. Monk, still at the head of his regiment, had, for his own guns, but

one ball and charge of powder. He made application for ammunition to Major-General Astley; but got for answer, that there was no more; and upon this, placing his soldiers, armed with muskets, along the hedges, he imposed so well upon the Scots, that they did not venture to attack him, and allowed him to carry off the artillery to Newcastle, where, with the place itself, it soon fell into their hands.

Public opinion had now prevailed; England refused to defend herself, and the war became impossible. In vain did Strafford try persuasion, menace, and punishment in the army. In vain he sought to surround himself with men whose opinions answered to his own. Monk, called into council, maintained that it was necessary to fight. Incapable of admitting that the opinion of soldiers could affect the fate of a battle—like Strafford, who refused to suppose that authority could meet with obstruction,—he had not yet learnt to question the power of discipline. The decision was for peace; and long afterwards, Monk, then become the faithful servant of the parliament, never spoke but with indignation of the unmanly counsels which had thrown away an army, "fitted," as he said, "to reduce very dif-

ferent troops from those of the Covenanters, and a very different kingdom from that of Scotland."*

* Both Gumble (p. 11) and Skinner (p. 19) record this saying as having been frequently repeated by Monk, and it is therefore probably authentic; but it renders the question as to the real condition of that army, which was so signally dishonoured, somewhat curious. Monk, with his sagacity and military habits, must be accepted as strong evidence. But his opinion is singularly inconsistent with other authorities. To the army of the previous year it would be more applicable. Of that we have a similar account from Clarendon (i. 202) and Whitelocke (p. 30); and in Thurloe (i. 3) we have the same report in a curious letter from Sir Bevil Greenville to Mr. Morrice. But in 1640 the case was different. Disgust and discouragement, among the soldiers, had followed the treaty of Ripon. There had been a displacement of several popular commanders, and the men mustered unwillingly. Nalson says, they were "infected with the rumours of the design of introducing popery by this army;" and "fell into mutinies and great disorders;" (i. 425;) Whitelocke, that they refused to fight "to maintain the pride and power of the bishops;" (p. 35;) whence the war got the name of "bellum episcopale." In Dalrymple's Memorials (p. 103, &c. vol. ii.) and Clar. St. Pap. (ii. 99,) we have Lord Conway's own defence in the Newburn affair; who not only says that the soldiers were "most of them the meanest sort about London," and ignorant of their duties; but quotes several reports from Sir Jacob Astley, who was raising the infantry, as to their mutinous temper and disorders. He gives us his explanation of the defeat at Newburn, as arising, first, from the disadvantage of the ground; secondly, from want of time for works; thirdly, from the description of soldiers; and it is strange that he

It appears that, at this period, whether discontented with the turn of affairs, or desirous of trying his fortune in a country less distracted than his own, and in a career more profitable than that of arms, Monk listened to a proposal for founding a colony in Madagascar. The scheme failed. The Long Parliament was assembled; the quarrel grew daily warmer; and the Irish insurrection (25th Oct. 1641) chanced to present every Englishman with a cause to defend—every soldier with a war to wage—and that without enrolling him in either party. The recent execution of Strafford had vacated the government of Ireland; and, together with the command of the troops destined to quell the revolt, it was given to the Earl of Leicester. Every commander of an army had his own regiment. Monk was appointed colonel to that of Leicester.

The parliament had at that time too urgent need of its troops and money, to employ them in

makes no mention among these three causes, of that which was plainly the principal, namely, the general disaffection to the war. Conway, to be sure, was likely, in his defence, to impute as much as possible to the defects of the army; but making allowance for this, there remains still great difficulty in reconciling his report of it, and that of others, with Monk's saying.

assisting Ireland, whose calamities they could so easily and so profitably impute to the king. The supplies promised and voted, were never ready; or they were diverted from their destination; or carried off by the king himself, who, while he complained of the indifference of parliament towards the deplorable situation of the Irish Protestants, caused their muskets and their powder to be withdrawn, even from the arsenals of Dublin. At length, some regiments set out, and among others that of the Earl of Leicester; but not so the earl himself; feeling little eagerness to place himself at the head of a government without resources, of a wasted country, and of an army hardly formed, and worse paid, he remained in London, leaving the command to the Duke of Ormond, lieutenant-general *ad interim*. Ormond was a royalist; and, although Protestant himself, of a Catholic family. But he was one of the first noblemen in the country, and the only one in a condition to counterbalance the fearful popular power which the insurrection had aroused throughout all Ireland. On the first news of the rebellion, the king had appointed him to the command of the army, as a man on whom he could rely; the lords justices, invested with the

civil authority at Dublin, had applied to him, seeing no hope of any other assistance near them; and the parliament had accepted him, because they could not help it.

It was on the 21st of February, that Monk landed in the port of Dublin, at the head of an infantry regiment of fifteen hundred men, and accompanied by four hundred cavalry under the orders of Sir Richard Greenville. This succour had been preceded, about six weeks before, by the arrival of 1,400 men, the first that England had transferred to Ireland since the commencement of the rebellion. Of these 1,400 men, 300 had arrived without arms, and all without provisions—without ammunition—without money, in a country ravaged by the rival fury of the two parties. The necessity most urgent was, not to lead those troops to battle, but to enable them to live. Forced supplies were rapidly exhausted, and the contractors, who remained unpaid, did not again expose themselves by returning. In vain were the most melancholy supplications daily addressed both to the king and to parliament; neither king nor parliament were willing to withdraw anything from what was barely sufficient for themselves. Feeble succours in money, provisions, ammuni-

tion, accoutrements, &c., arrived from time to time; long expected; always far short, both of the exigency and the hope; and generally composed of damaged or inferior articles, which but irritated the despair of the soldiers, thus abandoned in their distress to the avarice of contractors.

To these causes of disorder was added the unsteadiness of the measures of the Irish government; the inevitable vice of a council wherein sat two parties, who, obliged to act in concert, laboured but to destroy each other; careful merely to keep terms on either side, until the moment when the one should feel itself in a condition to expel its rival. Ormond was a zealous royalist; the lords justices zealous parliamentarians. Leicester held his commission from the king, and, still in London, commanded in the name of the parliament; Ormond enforced the right of the king to make official appointments, and to decide in matters of peace or war. The contests of authority were frequent, and always determined at the pleasure of the party most powerful for the moment: in general, that of the king had the advantage. Despite the pretensions of Leicester, Ormond, active and on the spot, disposed of most appointments. The army, originally formed by

Strafford, had been lately recruited by officers whom the parliament had thought fit, out of distrust, to remove from England; and the destitution in which it was left, was not likely to calm its discontent. It looked naturally to the two Houses, which, as they were in possession of the power, were responsible for the evil. This same power, however, restrained its temper; and the arrears, while they accumulated, chained the officers more and more effectually to the cause which could alone discharge them. Thus suspended between contrary interests and inclinations, pressed at the same time by its necessities, its dangers, and its common enemies, the army, in presence of the Irish, felt rather English than parliamentarian or royalist; and a lukewarmness of political opinion left great latitude to the chiefs in seeking to gain proselytes, and to the inferiors a large facility for maintaining a good understanding with both parties.

Monk, skilful above them all, thenceforth commenced the attainment or the application of that art which he so constantly and dexterously practised—the art of advancing his fortunes with the prevailing party, without ever losing the confidence of that which might prevail at a future

day. The absence of all passion; an apparent slowness of disposition, produced by the natural circumspection of his character; and a remarkable taciturnity, secured him from the pitfalls of speech: it served him little in the conduct of his life, except to penetrate the sentiments of others, while he misled them as to his own. Yet his was an active silence. His assiduous, as well as regular and tranquil diligence, maintained connexions in all quarters where his situation permitted them; and without ever appearing to have bestowed himself, each thought he had gained him, or could gain him in time of need. On the other hand, devoted with indefatigable activity to the difficult cares of the employment which was confided to him, he appeared to be exclusively absorbed by it, and the acrimony or distrust of political opinion could scarce reach a man with whom some other business was always to be transacted.

The military renown of a commander had little to gain in this miserable and perilous war, almost always directed against enemies more easily dispersed than overtaken, and from whom surprise was more to be feared than resistance. Monk is but mentioned once as having, with a small

force, beaten, at Tymochoe, a much larger number of the Irish.* The greater part of these expeditions were confined to forages, of which devastation was the object, plunder the fruit, and the march the worst danger. These excursions were multiplied; which, while they occupied the troops, furnished them with at least a few days' provisions; but on each occasion it was necessary to seek at a greater distance some district to scour, and the enterprise became every time more difficult for exhausted soldiers, without clothes, and without shoes. Many remained by the road side disabled from going further; more than once they refused to commence their march; and it was often to be feared lest an announcement of departure should become the signal of revolt. Monk alone knew how to draw them onwards: as skilful as

* This was in Jan. 1643; but M. Guizot's statement is not quite accurate, for we have full as important an operation afterwards, when an expedition was sent to relieve Castle Jordan; and Monk, being thought by the lords justices "the fittest person to take upon him the command of that party," was persuaded by Sir John Temple to accept it, and with a force not much above two thousand men, saved the place from an army of more than seven. (Carte. L. of Orm. i. 439.) Indeed even Clarendon, an unexceptionable witness in his favour, says, (vii. 380,) that Monk "continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct."

he was bold, he became to his men a sure guarantee of success. "There was not," it was said, "a soldier ever so sick or so ill-shod, who would not make an effort to follow George Monk," a familiar appellation bestowed on him by the affection of the soldiers, always more disposed to obey when they have in a manner appropriated their commander to themselves, and when in their chief they recognise a comrade. Monk, a soldier like themselves, without any interest but their own, was in their eyes the object of that confidence which men, in emergencies so pressing, repose unreservedly in him on whom they think they can rely. Attentive to their wants; active and careful to rid them of those hardships which he could spare them; regular in his communications with them, as far as the irregularity of circumstances would permit; he maintained in their minds that idea of justice which calms the impatience of the subordinate, by tranquillising their imagination; and upholds the superiority of the chief, because it leaves no right of complaint against him.*

* It is certain that Monk possessed, in a remarkable degree, that power of securing the attachment of the soldier which is the attribute of all great commanders. We shall find frequent mention of this in the text; and the testimony of other writers besides his biographers is strong upon the

Repelled by degrees, and obliged to concentrate their forces, the Irish insurgents had left at the disposal of the government a number of estates, ravaged and uncultivated, but capable of being soon reclaimed to fertility. At length it was determined to take advantage of them, and they became at once a resource for the army, and for the government the means of still retaining some influence. The privy council gave these lands *in custodiam* to commanders of corps, who set their soldiers to cultivate them, and drew from them a profit, destined partly to the subsistence of those who served under their orders. Favour usually presided in these distributions. Monk contrived to obtain a good share; and he applied the talents for order and economy, which were his by

point. Carte calls him "the most beloved by the soldiers of any officer in the army." (L. of Ormond, i. 473.) And Lord Byron, his commanding officer at Nantwich, in his letter to Lord Ormond, (Ormond's Letters, i. 38,) describes his arrival as adding "great alacrity to the soldiers;" and again (i. 41) when he mentions the rout of his old regiment, adds, "though they had their beloved Colonel Monk at the head of them." In fact, as Price says, (Mas. Sel. Tracts, 712,) "the soldiers did generally love him;" and it was to this general affection and confidence that he owed that power of control which he afterwards exercised over his army under most critical circumstances; and without which he must then have failed.

nature, to make it valuable.* The habits of industry destined to render their condition more tolerable, maintained obedience and gaiety among the soldiers; and without troubling themselves about the political obligations to which their chief might owe his influence, they attached themselves to him because he knew how to manage both for them and for himself. The royalist party did not resent it: among men daily exposed to extreme distress, opinion yielded to more immediate necessities; and few people cared to see offence in a prudent dissimulation, employed to obtain the payment of their arrears, or some equivalent which might place them in a condition to wait.

* These 'custodia,' or 'custodiums,' as they were called, were, according to Carte, (L. of Orm. i. 400,) a "vast field of private profit to the lords justices," who granted great numbers, to be held at their pleasure. The advantage to the public service was more questionable. The troops were employed in their cultivation; and, with the officers, who made all supply from thence subservient to their private interest, became difficult to move. Monk's allotment seems to have been upon the coast in the county of Wicklow, as we find that in September, 1643, he was sent for from thence, where he was "by the sea side making good provision of corn." (See Sir W. Percival's Vindic. of the Cessation of Arms. Carte, Life of Orm. i. lib. 9, and ibid. i. 454.) We shall see hereafter that he probably retained it as his own. See also Clarend. Life, i. 463.

It was not from the king that Monk could at that time expect the promotion and the favours which were reserved for men of higher rank, and of more conspicuous zeal. The post of governor of Dublin fell vacant; Lord Leicester, promptly apprised of it, appointed Monk to the office: but the appointment of the king arrived a few days afterwards, and it was for Lord Lambert. In vain did the lords justices make a show of hesitation; the preponderance of the royalists became every day more irresistible; and Monk, avoiding so hazardous a struggle, contrived again to retire, soon enough, and with sufficiently good grace, not to compromise himself with the party which had affronted him.*

* Although the council was royalist, the lords justices at this time sided with the parliament, till the king a little later made a change among them.—(Clarend. iii. 482.)

We must not confound the Lord Lambert here mentioned with the parliamentary general, who was afterwards often so styled. This was Charles Lord Lambert, of Cavan, whose father was so created by James I., and who was, in 1647, made Earl of Cavan, and Viscount Kilcoursie; he sat in the English House of Commons as a royalist member in 1626 and 1628, for Bossiney. (Beatson, Irish Peerage, vol. iii. and Willis, Notit. Parl. vol. iii.) John Lambert had no regular title; although when in high command he also was generally termed "my Lord Lambert." He was sprung from an elder

For an instant only he appeared to forget his usual circumspection; there was but one passion which could lead him into the snare. The pay of the Irish army had not been furnished since the beginning of the war; and the parliament, to appease the discontent of the officers and to retain them in its power, proposed to fund a part of their arrears, which should be levied on the lands confiscated from the rebels, so soon as the Houses should, by their vote, have declared the subjugation of Ireland. There was to be a register, wherein those who might consent to the conversion should inscribe their names. The officers, for the most part royalists, and little convinced besides that the parliament wished to put an early end to the war, objected to this bargain. A few, however, subscribed, and Monk suffered himself to be drawn into it among the first. Reynolds, one of the Westminster commissioners, had offered to him, as well as to some others, to make himself personally their security for the fidelity of parliament in fulfilling its promises. Constrained, no doubt, by the anxious dread of losing all if he refused this offer, Monk consented: but Reynolds,

branch of the same family, settled at Skipton in Yorkshire. (Archdall, Peerage of Ireland, i. 347.)

when the names were once inscribed upon the registers, after having signed the bond which he had promised, showed no eagerness to place it in the hands of those for whom it was to serve as a security. This transaction, being made public, caused Monk some trouble, and taught him to distrust precipitation even in matters of precaution.*

The power of the parliament in Ireland, however, drew near its close. One of the principal members of the committee for Ireland, in London, had answered Major Warren, who was sent to ask

* This proposal was distinct from the scheme for encouraging adventurers in Ireland, which had been adopted by the parliament a short time before, and which, by promising a proportion of confiscated land in Ireland for every hundred pounds subscribed, rendered the rebels in that country desperate, and neutralised any influence which the king could have derived from his prerogative of pardon. This plan had a like object, as it would put the officers upon the same footing with the adventurers—of dependence upon the parliament; without alarming their loyalty, by engaging them to any thing inconsistent with their duty to the king; while at the same time it reserved to the parliament the power of declaring the subjugation of Ireland as might suit it, and of allotting the lands to the subscribers. But it seems that Monk was not deceived by it till the lords justices and the officers of the civil list had first set the example, and subscribed largely; and when, after suspicions arose, the council refused to give the security of their own estates, the officers insisted on cancelling the whole transaction.

for succour, that "if only 500*l.* were wanted to save Ireland, they would not be forthcoming." The officers at length resolved to address their representations only to the king; and at the foot of that which appears to have been destined to bring about a final revolution in the government of Ireland, figures the name of Monk. Already, in the course of February, 1643, the English commissioners had quitted Dublin, where their position was no longer tenable. At length, on the 1st of August, arrived an order from Oxford for the imprisonment of the Lord Justice Sir William Parsons, chief of the parliamentary party, and the members of the council who voted with him. The object of this measure was to prepare the way for concluding a suspension of arms with the Irish insurgents, which had been long desired, no less by them than by the king. It was signed on the 15th of September; and forthwith Ormond arranged to send a part of his army to the assistance of the king. He chose, for the purpose of being transferred to England, those regiments of which he thought himself most sure, and imposed an oath that they would serve the king against the army of the Earl of Essex and every other parliamentary commander. Two officers only

refused it; Monk was one of them. His political opinions, at least so far as he had any, leaned at that time more towards the king than towards his enemies; but having been absent from England for more than eight months, he could not, without some inquiry, safely decide between the two parties. He had besides other interests to consider; and the hope of getting paid by parliament, before he enlisted against it, appears to have been the prevailing and even avowed reason of his refusal.* It was accepted, and Ormond consented to let him proceed to England; but an incident occurred to derange Monk's calculations, and to compel him to decide more abruptly than he wished.

There are occasions when even circumspection may do harm, and when the anxiety to offend no party may expose one to the suspicions of all. Monk found himself in this predicament. The parliament, provoked with the suspension of arms,

* There can be no doubt of Monk's royalist predilections at this period, for Carte says, that "great care was used in the choice of the officers, that they might be well-affected towards the king's cause;" (Life of Orm. i. 468;) and that Lord Ormond was satisfied with the reasons he gave for declining the oath.

had resolved to separate, in Ireland as elsewhere, their own interests from those of the king. They consulted on the choice of a lieutenant-general who might be effectually opposed to the Earl, lately created Marquis, of Ormond. Lord Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester,* was proposed, and declared that he was sure of gaining Monk and some other colonels in the army.† Lord Lisle's promises were known at Oxford, and Lord Digby reported them to Ormond, but without giving credit to them; for he said he had always heard those persons spoken of as men of honour. He

* Philip, Viscount Lisle, was son of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, and brother of the famous Algernon. His grandfather was nephew to the last of the Dudleys who bore that well-known title. Robert, the Lord Leicester of whom mention has already been more than once made in the text, was, (according to Clarendon,) "a man of great parts," but more speculative than practical. He refused, although at Oxford with the king, to attend the council, and became of course much suspected. Lord Lisle seems to have been vainer and more ambitious. He sat in the Long Parliament for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and early embraced its cause. He afterwards became a member of Cromwell's Little Parliament and of his "Other House."

† Carte (Life of Orm. i. 470) says this was his vanity, and that it was at a time when it was his interest to recommend himself to the parliament, as he had then a prospect of being appointed to the chief command in Ireland.

wrote at the same time to Monk a flattering letter, wherein, treating him as a firm adherent of the king's, he urged him to come over and devote to him his services. The information which reached Oxford, therefore, would have remained of no effect, if it had not coincided with another rumour of the same kind. One Captain Johnson, who arrived from London, declared, that at the committee, where he had waited for the signature of his passport, Mr. Pym, after having questioned him on the condition of the army, had charged him to find Colonel Monk on his account, in order to persuade him to use his influence over the soldiers, so as to divert them from the king's service; promising him all the assistance he might require, and rewards proportioned to the good offices which were expected from him. This language from Pym proved that Monk had as yet no engagement with the parliament, but that they thought him disposed to be gained over. This was reason enough that the royalists should deem it prudent to preserve him from the attempt. Instead of embarking him with the troops, Ormond sent him under a strong guard to Bristol; at the same time combining with this act of rigour, an urgent recommendation to the governor to treat Monk well, so

long as he should be obliged to detain him, awaiting the king's orders.*

There was no longer room for deliberation; Monk arrived at Bristol decidedly royalist, and soon contrived to inspire the governor, Lord Hawley, with so much confidence, that he sent Monk on his parole to Oxford, directing him immediately to the king, and charging him, at the same time, with letters for Lord Digby. He was received as a person of importance; the king consulted him several times, and Monk, more practised in governing an army than a party, advised him, if he wished to make the most of his, to reduce it to 10,000 men, well disciplined and well commanded. His services appeared more acceptable than his advice; it was known that he was then most beloved by the soldiers of any officer of the army;† and it was inferred that he could be nowhere so useful as in the midst of those whom he had commanded. His regiment had been taken from him at the time

* Clarendon admits (vii. 380) that this suspicion of an inclination to the parliament "proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them," rather than anything else; and when Ormond sent him, Carte asserts that it was without any "ill opinion" of him.

† Carte, Life of Ormond, i. 473.

of his arrest, but the king appointed him major-general of the troops arrived from Ireland, and at that moment occupied with the siege of Nantwich, under the command of Lord Byron.* Monk had scarce reached his post, when Fairfax, by the extraordinary rapidity of his march, surprised Lord Byron; defeated him at Nantwich on the 25th of January, 1644; and forced him to raise the siege, leaving in his power a large number of prisoners, and among the rest the major-general, who, in the absence of the new colonel,

* There is confusion in the accounts of Monk's station in the army at Nantwich. Gumble says he had no command; Clarendon that he was a volunteer; Skinner calls him Major-General of the Irish Brigade; and Carte tells us he had command of Warren's regiment. The truth appears to have been, that when he was suspected and removed, Warren, his major, was put in command of his regiment. After he had, however, satisfied the king, at Oxford, he was allowed to join the army in Cheshire; where he refused Warren's offer to restore his command, but having received from the king some such brevet rank as Skinner mentions, put himself, during the action, at the head of his old corps. In this position he is mentioned by Lord Byron in his despatch to Lord Ormond after the defeat. (Ormond's Letters, i. 41, Jan. 31, 1643.) In the order of the House of Commons, July 8, 1644, for committing both Monk and Warren to the Tower, we find the latter styled only "major;" and a distinction is made between them, which seems to indicate some favour towards the former; for while Warren was to be committed "close prisoner," Monk was only sent there as "a prisoner."

found himself at the head of his own regiment. Monk, sent in the first instance to Hull, was afterwards, by order of the parliament, transferred to London, and confined in the Tower.

There he passed nearly three years,* faithful to the engagement which he had just contracted towards the king; firm against the offers of the parliament; in vain soliciting his exchange, which was rendered difficult by the importance which in London they attached to his detention, and by the preference which men of higher rank obtained at Oxford; and finally exposed to every distress that can beset a prisoner without resources. His father was dead; his elder brother, embarrassed in his affairs, and occupied in the king's service, wherever the chances of war might lead him, found little either of leisure or of

* The battle of Nantwich was fought on the 25th of Jan. 1644; but he was not committed to the Tower till July; and as he was discharged in November, 1646, his confinement there was very little more than two years. During this interval he wrote a treatise entitled "Observations upon Military and Political Affairs," which was published by authority after his death, in 1671. "It contains thirty chapters of martial rules, interspersed with political observations, and is in reality a kind of Military Grammar." Walpole, Royal and Noble Authors, p. 378. Chalm. Biogr. Dict.

means to send him his very limited allowance ;* but the ties between Monk and the family of Leicester had never been broken through; from thence he received some assistance, and at the same time the king, more steady in recollecting than powerful to serve him, conveyed a hundred pounds to him; a singular mark of interest and consideration in a state of penury such as that of the court at Oxford.

While he was languishing in prison, events pursued their course. In 1646,—the king a prisoner in the power of the parliament, and the civil war at an end in England,—Monk had no choice left; and being no longer dangerous to the revolutionary party, might become useful to it. Lord Lisle, appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland for one year, was at length arranging to proceed thither, and they considered Monk qualified to give assistance. The efforts to gain him, probably rendered more active, were also more effectual. "Money, which he loved dearly,"† says

* See Monk's Original Letter to him; in Biogr. Brit., Art. "Monk."

† Clarendon, vii. 382. This assertion would be worth little on the mere authority of Clarendon, whose dislike of Monk was notorious; but no point can be better established by other means: for we find that even Gumble, his extrava-

Clarendon,* " aided Cromwell not a little in obtaining his decision." Yet the necessity for taking the covenant presented still an obstacle. The whole life of Monk attests his repugnance to oaths; which was at least setting some value on them. Perhaps he particularly feared the outward effect; he loved not extreme parties, and an army of covenanters appeared to him doubtless a bad instrument for pacifying Ireland. At last numerous conferences with those who, detained like himself at the Tower, could give encouragement either to his conscience or his opinions, induced him to accept the required conditions; and, on the 13th of November, a message from the House of Lords informed the House of Commons of the submission of Colonel Monk, with a request that, on account of his military talents, he should be employed in the Irish war. The Commons, swayed by Monk's popularity in the army, consented. One member

* This expression, which is to be found in the MSS. of the History of the Rebellion, was omitted in the first editions. It has been replaced in the last, published at Oxford.—*Note in Revue Française.*

gant eulogist, admits it. (p. 464.) We may observe an indication of the same passion in the dispute as to the command at Dublin; where it appears from Carte, (i. 362,) that Lord Leicester, in appointing Monk, had assigned him forty shillings a day as salary, which was double the regular allowance.

only, Mr. Cawley, opposed it; from what motive does not appear.* Monk quitted his prison to serve the parliament, leaving in the Tower the royalists, his companions in adversity; who never ceased to flatter themselves that he would prove one day useful to the king in England.†

* Ludlow mentions this (p. 73) without hinting at any reason, and we may therefore presume that there was none worth remarking. The history of the man, however, helps to explain it. He sat as one of the king's judges, and signed the Bloody Warrant; and although he was member for Midhurst, in the Long Parliament, and was one of the Rump, restored in 1659, his name appeared in none of Oliver's or Richard's. He was, therefore, probably one of the extreme republicans; (see also Ludlow, p. 399;) and Monk's royalist reputation would be sufficient to account for his objection.

† In 1646, an application was made, by a deputation from Lord Ormond, to the parliament for assistance; and they were instructed to ask for the enlargement of Monk by name, together with several others, as "men that knew the country, and were experienced in the service, and therefore fitter to be employed than others." (Life of Ormond, i. 594.) Lord Lisle, and, if we can trust Lord Clarendon, Cromwell also, took pains to persuade him to accept the terms proposed to him by parliament; but although he had permission, by a vote of July, 1646, to go beyond seas, on taking the negative oath, it was not till November that he left the Tower. Gumble (p. 22) says, "Whether he took the covenant I cannot well affirm upon certainty; but this I know, he loved not the remembrance of that troublesome firebrand;" and there seems good reason for supposing that, in fact, he never did take it; for when Lord Lisle reports that Col. Monk hath been at the Commons and engaged his honour, "hath

The king's party was at that time subdued in Ireland, as elsewhere. The truce, ill-received by many people, and among others by Lord Inchiquin, the most powerful of the Irish engaged in the English cause, had been soon violated. In vain did the mutual hatred of the parties appear willing to yield to necessity in several subsequent conventions; these momentary reconciliations had been desired by the Irish, merely as an instrument of treachery; and the impossibility of treating with them had become as clear as that

taken the negative oath, and *is ready to take the covenant,* the House of Commons at once gives leave to employ him. (Journals, Nov. 12, 1646.) So that this may very well have been a mere representation of Lord Lisle's to form a pretext for dispensing with it. This would absolve Monk from the charge of subsequently breaking it. I may observe that Rushworth (vi. 388) gives precisely the converse of the true resolution of the House of Commons, and is followed in that mistake by the authors of the "Lives, English and Foreign."

At any rate, it is certain that he went with the concurrence of the royalists; and Skinner (p. 30) says, that Wren, the Bishop of Ely, had repeatedly asserted, that he asked for his blessing, and said he was going to serve the king, in Ireland, and hoped he should do so some day in England; and in fact, he would have found nothing like a royalist and parliamentary war in Ireland, if Ormond had not just before formed a league with the general assembly of catholics at Kilkenny; (Clarendon viii. 26;) "but having once engaged," as Hume observes, "he was obliged to obey orders."

of holding out against them. Hopeless of succour, and destitute of all resource, Ormond had entered into negociations with the parliament of England, to place Dublin in their hands, together with the fate of the Protestants of Ireland. Nothing was yet concluded, when Lord Lisle, having left London on the 18th June, 1647, presented himself before Dublin, in order to take possession of it. The marquis having refused to receive him, Lisle proceeded to disembark at Cork; and after passing two useless months in the province of Munster, his commission having expired as well as Monk's, he set out again for England on the 17th of April, two months before the conclusion of the treaty, which was not signed till the 19th of June, 1648.*

* M. Guizot here confounds two separate transactions. In the first place his dates are contradictory, for he says Lord Lisle left London, *June* 18, 1647, and having remained in Ireland *two months*, set sail again on the *17th of April*, which must make ten months instead of two; and, secondly, Lord Lisle never went to Dublin at all. We find in Leicester's Journal (Blencowe's Sidney Papers) that on Friday, Feb. 19, 1646-7, his son left Minehead, and landed at Cork on the 21st; (p. 13;) and it is clear that he never intended to land elsewhere, because Lord Inchiquin took the trouble to write to him to say that he had better leave his horse, for which there was no provision in *Munster;*

By this treaty, the parliament regained possession of Ireland, those districts excepted which were occupied by the rebels. It was deemed more prudent to divide it, than to place in the hands of one man so extensive a power. Colonel Jones had the command in Leinster, Monk that in Ulster, a province whence James I. had expelled the inhabitants, that he might introduce Scotch colonists. Resentment and interest had rendered the dispossessed proprietors the most implacable enemies of English supremacy. Assembled under the direction of Owen O'Neill, the most skilful and intrepid of the insurgent chiefs, the *old Irish* (so the exiles of Ulster styled themselves) continually lurked in arms around their old abodes: sometimes penetrating to the

and having received this letter before he quitted Bristol, he left his horse accordingly. The true facts are, that after Ormond's application to the parliament, they sent commismissioners, who did land at Dublin in Nov. 1646, but were obliged by Ormond to quit it in a few days, by his refusal to resign, or to admit their forces, of which he had reason to be jealous; and they then, after hovering off the coast for a week, landed with difficulty at Belfast. In the beginning of the next year, Lord Lisle was sent to Munster either because the parliament was suspicious of Lord Inchiquin, who commanded them, or because the best of the English army was in that quarter. See Whitelocke, p. 229. Carte's Life of Ormond, i. 585. Clarendon, vi. 3.

heart of the province; ever beaten, yet ever ready to renew the charge; and reassembled in one point almost as soon as they were dispersed in another. It was impossible to bring them to a regular action; O'Neill carefully avoided such encounters, and could not have sustained them; and it was more practicable to repel than to prevent his attacks. Monk succeeded in this by dint of vigilance: and by placing spies on O'Neill's steps, and taking care to cut off his provisions, and to ravage the neighbourhood of his quarters, he was soon in a condition to fear little from his efforts.

But in the interior of his command he had to struggle against more serious difficulties. At the beginning of the Irish rebellion, Scotland had sent to the aid of the Scotch colonies established in Ulster, a body of troops, which, under the direction of Robert Monroe, had taken possession of the country, and managed it as they pleased. The *new Scotch* had become an object of hatred to their fellow-countrymen the *old Scotch*, and both were on sufficiently bad terms with the English troops. Monk was already skilled in keeping peace between parties, by taking advantage of their animosities. Under his administration order was imposed on all; justice was dispensed, arbi-

trarily it is true, but in general equitably; the fields were tilled; and by his method in the distribution of booty, and of the slender produce of the land, he contrived to maintain the war without assistance, and almost to prevail with his soldiers to forget that they received nothing of their pay; while, at the same time, his table, always ample, brought his officers together, who were almost reduced to this source for their subsistence.

To the personal enmities which then divided the two classes of Scotch population, in Ulster, were soon added political dissensions. The second civil war was breaking out in England;* the parliament of Scotland had declared for the king; its army was already in the field; Sir George Monroe, nephew of Robert Monroe, held a command in it. For some time past Robert had been pressed to rejoin his nephew, and must have been more disposed thereto, since the houses at Westminster had lately given lively disgust to the Scotch troops stationed in Ulster, by insisting, although without success, that they should return to Scotland; and that without their pay. The mutual distrust increased daily; Monk thought it wise to put at end to it at one blow;

* In 1648. *Note in Revue Française.*

and in concert with the old Scotch, towards the middle of September 1648, at the moment when Cromwell, victorious at Preston, was passing the Tweed at the head of the parliamentary army, he fell headlong on the quarters of Monroe, took possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus, and sent both army and general prisoners to England. It was pretended, without much foundation, that Robert was in fact preparing to go and rejoin his nephew, in order with him to serve the royal cause. According to some his object was even to seize Monk; and he had only been forestalled. Be this as it may, the discovery came opportunely, and no service could be more agreeable to the parliament, and especially to Cromwell; who was by this blow delivered from a portion of his enemies, which would have been likely to give him trouble. A thanksgiving was performed at London; Monk received a gratuity of 500*l.* sterling; a letter of thanks was written to him; he was appointed governor of Belfast, and consulted on the choice of the governor of Carrickfergus; and an order was given for a proposal of some means to secure the payment of his soldiers.*

* "This action and success was one of the first that brought

For this it was most important to provide; for the Marquis of Ormond had just returned to Ireland, to put himself at the head of the Protestant royalists, and to conclude a new alliance with the greater part of the Catholic chiefs. O'Neill, almost alone, was excluded from the treaty.* The old Irish, victims of the government of James I., were attached by no link to a Protestant dynasty; and their secret wish was to make Ireland an independent kingdom under the protection of the pope. Round O'Neill crowded the fanatic Catholics, blindly subject to the direction of the Nuncio Rinuccini. O'Neill had always opposed the efforts of the Marquis of Ormond for restoring the Irish to their allegiance to the king; and he was then equally at war with the royalists and the parliamentarians. But these, being still enemies in spite of appearances, gave him little

Colonel Monk into extraordinary favour with the parliament and army; who began to have more confidence in him than they had formerly, since his revolt to them." (Whitel. p. 339.) He was himself made governor of Carrickfergus. House of Commons' Journals, Sept. 28, 1648.

* He was not excluded, but refused to treat, through jealousy of Preston, and by an understanding with the parliament. (Clarendon viii. 82; Carte, Life of Ormond, ii. 59.) Ormond at this time endeavoured to gain Jones and Coote, but does not seem to have attempted Monk.

uneasiness; for they could do him no great harm. The promises addressed to Monk for the payment of his troops were not performed. The soldiers, in their distress, heard that Ormond's army was well supplied and paid. The ascendancy of their commander was not enough to neutralise such seductions; and they deserted in crowds, to swell the ranks of the royalists. The old Scotch of Ulster, on their part, after having aided Monk against their countrymen, the soldiers of Monroe, had, in their turn, abandoned him to unite with Ormond.* The London government, then in the hands of the independents, and under the influence of Cromwell, was aware of the distress of its Irish army, but was not yet in a state to assist it. All that it could hope for was, to prevent its expulsion or entire ruin, by interposing some obstacle to the progress of the royalists. It lis-

* This circumstance, which seems hardly intelligible as M. Guizot states it in the text, is explained by Carte. (Life of Ormond, ii. 76.) The fact was, that after the execution of the king, the presbyterians in Ireland, as well as Scotland, became alarmed for the kirk; and those of Ulster required a renewal of the covenant. The officers of the army generally supported them; but Monk and Coote refused it, which set all the north against them. Monk would be the more reluctant if he had escaped it before, as we have surmised above (note † p. 39.)

tened to the proposals of the old Irish, and of Owen O'Neill; who, himself reduced to the last extremities, was ready to treat with either party, as he might find it for his interest or his safety. His inclination swayed him towards the independents, then too weak to control him; and who were disposed, by a like motive, to favour a party, which would be easily destroyed when it should have served to make a diversion to the efforts of their most dangerous enemies. O'Neill had opened negociations with the independents, by the mediation of the Abbé O'Reilly, his agent in London; and he maintained at the same time, in Leinster and Ulster, an active intercourse with Jones and Monk. They had been authorised to furnish him secretly with trifling aid in money and ammunition, which was always the price of some enterprise against their common enemies.*

* Monk's biographers unwillingly admit the truth of this circumstance, but strongly affirm that he had the authority of others, and of Cromwell especially; and Gumble (p. 28) owns that "little can be said for it, but the usual arguments of necessity and self-preservation." Clarendon (vi. 425) pretends to give the terms of O'Neill's treaty with the independents; and there is little doubt that some such transaction with them actually took place. Ludlow (Mem. p. 126) acknowledges that he and others were commissioned by the

But the enterprises of a mere chief of insurgents were insignificant against the powerful confederation which then overspread Ireland; and his alliance was more embarrassing than useful. However, the moment arrived when Monk had no resource left but to call upon and to avow the dangerous assistance of seven hundred men whom he had retained; and five hundred left him to join the enemy, "who had money." Meanwhile Cromwell, appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland, and provided with all the means of success hitherto refused to his predecessors, had quitted London on the 10th of July, in great pomp, to repair to Bristol, where he and his army were to embark. The hope of immediate relief still sustained the

council to confer with the agent; and although he says they discouraged him and reported against his proposals, there is, to say the least of it, none of that furious indignation which the party thought fit afterwards to assume, when the popular anger was roused against the negociation. Whitelocke makes no mention of the matter; and nothing therefore can be more suspicious than their treatment of the whole affair. Abbé *Crelly* was the true name of the agent. Carte (Life of Ormond, ii. 57) says that he had been some time in London, negociating, through the Spanish ambassador, for all the Catholics; and maintains also that Sir Kenelm Digby had at this time a pass, sent by Cromwell, to come from Paris to England for the same purpose.

last efforts of the parliamentary commanders, when Monk learnt that Inchiquin was on his march to besiege Dundalk. Most of the other garrisons of the parliament were alike besieged or taken, and the communications were cut off. Monk, certain that he should obtain no assistance from any quarter, and little secure of the few men who surrounded him, required O'Neill, in virtue of agreements previously arranged between them, to assemble his forces for the purpose of falling on the enemy, so soon as he should approach the town. O'Neill answers that he is ready, but is in want of ammunition. He marches, however; and on the 25th July, 1649, having brought his army within three miles of Dundalk,* he detaches a body of twelve hundred infantry and two hundred horse to escort the ammunition which Monk was to transmit to him. They were returning with it joyfully, when they learnt that Inchiquin was approaching them; they endeavoured hastily to regain the body of the army, but in vain; Inchiquin overtook them,

* Carte (ii. 73) says within seven miles, (at Glassdromore,) which better allowed for the surprise of O'Neill's troops. Ludlow (Mem. p. 126) gives an account of this agreement which is wholly unintelligible.

and carried off their stores after a bloody engagement, in which five hundred of them were left upon the field. The remainder was captured or dispersed, and "few of them," says Whitelocke, "escaped without their death wounds."* O'Neill's army, on the news of this rout, and of the loss of its ammunition, fled panic-struck, and retired into the county of Longford.

The effect of this check was not less terrible in the little camp of the English. To find themselves O'Neill's allies, and O'Neill himself defeated, was a disgrace, for which they could not forgive their general. Indignation seconded the alarms which sprang from the approaching danger. Monk saw his situation; but, determined to maintain it to the end, he assembled his soldiers, and with the plain military tone which, in his case, accompanied the authority of command, he asked if they consented to follow him. "If any one of you," he said, "is averse to fighting in this quarrel, let him speak; he shall receive a pass from me." A single soldier advanced, declaring that his conscience would not permit him to remain in the same cause with O'Neill; and the pass was delivered to him. The others, yielding

* Whitelocke, p. 416.

to the impulse given by the presence of their commander, whom they had not yet learnt to disobey, swore loudly that they would remain true to him, and he proceeded to take shelter with them behind the walls of Dundalk.* The town was well supplied; Cromwell was on his way towards them; and a few more days might re-establish the fortunes of the parliamentarians. Monk hoped to hold out long enough to await the successes of his party; but the town being once invested, and the enthusiasm cooled, both soldiers and officers hurried to the ramparts, and thence proclaiming to Inchiquin's troops that they never would consent to fight under the orders of O'Neill's ally, they forced Monk to surrender the town. Calm in his disappointment, as he had been in his resolution, he did not forget to make his own conditions, for which alone he had now the power to stipulate; and departed, with the permission to remove what belonged to himself.†

* These details are to be found in Whitelocke, p. 416.

† Whitelocke concludes his account of this affair with strong complaints of the soldiers. But the negociation with O'Neill, and Monk's refusal of the covenant, were sufficient to account for the defection; and the lenity with which Monk himself was treated was probably a condition required by his troops, and is in that case another proof of their personal attachment to him.

He was returning to England, easy in the consciousness that he had served those well from whom he received his orders, when he met at Bristol Cromwell on the point of embarking,* who apprised him of the excitement which the news of his league with O'Neill had produced in London. The national anger had burst forth with an energy which admitted of no attempt to elude it. The party which Monk had obeyed, taking good care not to avow it, allowed the storm to fall on him, and, without precisely wishing to sacrifice him to public opinion, refused to expose itself for his defence. Monk showed no anger,—did not reject the burthen which they wished to shift on to his shoulders,—and simply pursued his route towards London, carrying, together with certain sums of money furnished to him by Cromwell, some strong letters for the most powerful members of the government.

He found them little disposed to endanger the secret of their communications with O'Neill by

* Gumble (p. 28) and Skinner (p. 35) both relate this incident. Yet how could it have occurred? In Whitelocke (p. 415) we are told of "letters (July 27, 1649) that Colonel Monk was landed at *Chester*." On the other hand, Cromwell certainly embarked at *Milford*. Probably it is a mistake of Gumble's copied by Skinner.

giving active support to himself. The ablest men of the Presbyterian party, the bitter adversaries of the Independents, persuaded that Monk had not acted without orders, pursued with eagerness the discovery of a fact so well calculated to discredit in the country those who could be convicted of having a share in it. Monk, being examined in the council of state and in parliament, took the whole upon himself, without alleging any other excuse than necessity. The debates in the house were long and violent. Some one proposed to commit Monk to the Tower; the reply was, "it would be better to commit the Tower to him."* However, some atonement to public opinion was required; it was necessary to divert suspicions, or at least to leave them no ground of justification. The Independent party did not hesitate to condemn itself, by consenting to a vote that the parliament disapproved of Colonel Monk's having made peace with the great and sanguinary Irish rebel, Owen Roe O'Neill, and abhorred all participation in that proceeding. But after this little triumph conceded to their adversaries,—careful likewise not entirely to discourage their friends,—the Independents

* Gumble, p. 29.

added, "that the parliament, persuaded that Major-general Monk had no object in this but the advantage of the English cause in Ireland, discharged him from any further question in the matter."* Monk had reckoned on more honest efforts; he was deeply hurt with the turn of the debate, and with the charges which had been allowed to rest upon him without an answer. Prudent men thought that they had done either too much or too little for him. They censured the policy of his party, which had been "to beat him," says Whitelocke, "and to stroak him afterwards; and some believe," he adds, "that he never forgot it." Attempts were also made to mitigate the effect of this unhappy affair upon the public; his party printed the articles of the treaty, together with the reasons which had induced Monk to conclude it; but the public suspected their truth, and only denounced more bitterly any partisan of the parliament capable of treating with those execrable enemies of England. †

* Journals of the House of Commons, August 10, 1649.

† "Major-general Monk," says Whitelocke, (p. 419,) "was much discontented at the proceeding in this business in relation to him, especially at some passages highly reflecting on his honour and fidelity; and it was the opinion of divers, either not at all to have questioned this business, or

About this period, Monk's elder brother died of a fall from his horse, leaving only daughters.* The family property devolved to the major-general, and in his able hands soon recovered from its disorder. Wealth at that time regularly followed power even in its inferior ranks: no service rendered to the ruling party remained without its salary. There is much mention of Monk's avarice, and especially of his parsimony; but it does not appear that his honesty was attacked. When, however, a government makes itself a party to corruption, legal honesty becomes easy to its

having once questioned it, not to employ him any more in their service. But the major part carried it thus: "to beat him, and afterwards to stroak him, which some think was never forgotten by him." A little later Sir C. Coote committed exactly the same offence; and all they did was to send him the resolution against Monk, while "they voted that they approved of the fidelity, care, and vigilancy of Sir Charles Coote." (Whitelocke, p. 422.) The storm had then somewhat subsided; and they could send to Ireland what they would have scarcely dared to avow in London.

* Clarendon says of him, that he was "most zealous in the King's service in the west, and most useful." (vii. 381.) And again, that "he had been entirely devoted to the king's service, and all Monk's relatives were of the same faith." (vii. 382.) He seems to have held the rank of colonel, and to have followed the prince, together with Lord Colepepper, when he went over to France in 1646. See Whitelocke, at the date of April 6, in that year.

agents; and, without incurring impeachment or even reproach, a general commanding the army of Ireland might very well make his fortune, in the midst, if not at the expense, of soldiers without either pay, shoes, or clothing.

Cromwell, at the head of the first army which the parliament had sent into Ireland, had soon subdued the country by dint of victories and massacres. He had managed to succeed equally in alarming the conscience of Fairfax on the war which was in preparation against Scotland, then in arms for Charles II.; had, so to speak, thrust him out of the command of the troops destined for that expedition; and set out alone towards this new triumph.* Monk had secured the entire

* Fairfax very possibly had scruples as to the covenant; but he had likewise a growing dislike and dread of Cromwell and the Independents, which was probably the stronger motive of action in this case. Ludlow (p. 134) says he was believed to be influenced by his wife, and the Presbyterian clergy. At any rate, these reasons for his refusal are better than his respect for the king, and reluctance to serve against him. Gumble, on the contrary, asserts (p. 34) that there were many royalists *incogniti* in the army, driven thither by want. As for Monk, his biographers try to varnish over his share in this campaign, by giving us the following notable list of motives; 1. Anger for the affront from Monroe in Ireland; 2. An aversion to the Scots for having begun the war; 3. Resentment for their conduct towards the late king. To the

confidence of Cromwell. The intimacy between them was such as may exist between two able and ambitious men, one of whom is content to make his fortune in aiding the aggrandisement of the other. Cromwell, determined to employ Monk near himself, first provided a regiment for him, and then appointed him general of the ordnance.* Monk's military talents assumed in this war the

first of these we may answer, that for the offence in question he had revenged himself pretty well in Ireland; to the second, that his abhorrence of war and its commencement was not upon the whole very remarkable; and to the third, that it would have been a better reason for his not fighting against the late king's son. But probably his motive was no deeper than a readiness to follow Cromwell, when he had once engaged with him, wherever he was required, with a soldier's discipline, and without needless scruples.

* "From that time (the king's execution) Monk continued," says Clarendon, "very firm to Cromwell, who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands he feared nothing from those quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more depended." (vii. 382.) The testimony to this is abundant, though its tone varies a little according to the deponent. Clarendon elsewhere calls him Cromwell's "creature:" (vii. 21.) Gumble, on the contrary, Cromwell's "darling." (p. 34.) I think there can be no doubt that on the king's death Monk thought his allegiance free; and, though he had a royalist tendency, was not royalist enough to quarrel with what was for the time the established government.

rank which belonged to them. At Dunbar, September 3, 1650, Cromwell, pressed by the Scots, who were superior in number, had imprudently entangled his army in a confined position, between the sea and the heights occupied by the enemy. There was no way for a retreat but a narrow passage guarded by a strong body of troops. The general assembled his council; fear had seized upon it, and few officers advised an engagement: "Sir," said Monk, "the Scots have numbers and the hills; these are their advantages. We have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight: these are ours. My advice, therefore, is to attack them immediately, which if you follow, I am ready to command the van." These words overturned all objections, and Monk, pike in hand, at the head of his soldiers, forced the passage, which the Scots, surprised by so vigorous a charge, did not long defend. This success decided the victory.*

* From Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, (edit. 1740, ii. 344-5,) where, however, no authority is given. Gumble (p. 38) and Skinner (p. 41) both mention these circumstances, with the exception of the speech. In Whitelocke (p. 470) we have the messenger's report to the government; who mentions the council of war, though not Monk's share in it. However, they are not likely to have invented this. Claren-

When Cromwell was obliged to return to England for the purpose of pursuing and attacking Charles II. at Worcester, he left Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland with six thousand men.* He left him also his example in Ireland, and probably some instructions to follow. Monk was persuaded that the strength of a place consists in men. "Neither bulwarks nor rocks," said he, "are such fortifications as man's flesh."† He determined to crush entirely the hostile spirit. Rapid attacks and severe executions every where deterred resistance. Weakness was not always a protection, nor valour always respected. When Monk was besieging Dundee, where all the wealth

don gives the whole credit to Cromwell. (vi. 455.) But he hated the Scots worse than their conqueror, and would not allow them the credit of having puzzled him. There can be no doubt, however, as to the fact. The council of war proves the difficulty, and in truth Cromwell had a narrow though splendid escape at Dunbar.

* Skinner (p. 43) hints that Monk had desired this command, that he might avoid returning to fight in England with Cromwell; and this is very possible, without supposing that he had any very stubborn scruples, or indeed any at all besides those of a clear-sighted prudence. Certain it is, that he never did happen to fight against either king *in person*. At this time Cromwell raised him to the rank of lieutenant-general. Ludlow, p. 157.

† Gumble, p. 41.

of Southern Scotland had been deposited as in a place of security, Lumsden, governor of the place, and noted for his courage, was summoned to surrender. His only answer was an offer of passes to the besiegers to return home, if they would surrender themselves with their arms and baggage. The town, bravely defended, but ill watched by the soldiers, who were always drunk, was taken by assault after some resistance, and Monk put Lumsden and eight hundred of the garrison to the edge of the sword in cold blood.*

* Monk is charged with this atrocity on the authority of Ludlow, who says (p. 157) that he commanded the governor and others to be killed in cold blood. But we must recollect, that Ludlow wrote long after (he finished his Memoirs in 1699) at a distance, (for he wrote in Switzerland,) and apparently, by internal evidence, very much from recollection. Moreover, Monk was one of those by whom he had "seen their cause betrayed," as he expresses it in his opening sentence; and he had a strong dislike to him, which often appears. On the other hand, not only are Monk's biographers silent on the point, but Whitelocke, who seems to have kept a full diary, and who was one of the government in London, though he mentions the plunder, whereby "the soldiers were grown rich and gallant,—a private soldier hardly to be known from an officer,"—makes no mention of this cruelty, but says the letters announced that the town was entered in a quarter of an hour, and that "between seven and eight hundred Scots were slain *at the taking*." In the continuation to "Baker's Chronicle," a work of authority

A general outcry arose against this barbarity. Even his panegyrists appear to have thought that a violent malady, under which Monk was near sinking some time afterwards, might be considered as a judgment upon the terrible service

on Monk's affairs, (as we shall hereafter see,) we have a circumstantial account of the matter, which there is no reason to doubt. "The governor, with some few, for a while saved themselves in a steeple, but were smothered out by the burning of straw; and then they yielded on mercy to one Captain Kelly, of Colonel Morgan's regiment; who was carrying him to the general with purpose to intercede for his life, because of the gallantry of his behaviour in defence of the town; but as he was going with him, one Major Butler barbarously shot him dead." (p. 629, edit. 1674.) This account is confirmed by Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, (p. 361,) who adds that "it troubled Monk very much." I have said thus much upon this atrocious charge, because Monk does not seem liable to the imputation of either wanton or savage cruelty. He was probably no more scrupulous on such points than many others of his profession; and when necessity required it, would give a cruel order. But he was not naturally cruel. Instances of his leniency are far more numerous. Whitelocke tells us of his efforts to protect the people from his soldiers in Scotland; (Memor. Aug. 8, and Sept. 25, 1651, &c.;) and even Clarendon, though he says "he made himself as terrible as man could be," (vi. 494,) and elsewhere that he "governed with a rod of iron," (vi. 611,) is forced to admit (vii. 386) that "as he was feared by the nobility and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him than they had been accustomed to under their own lords."

which he had rendered in this war. It was remarked also, that sixty vessels laden with the booty made at Dundee perished within view of the port, and almost without a storm, with the treasures which they were to transport to England; as if Providence had designed to mark at least by some sign of anger the hateful success which it had decreed to permit.* The insensible policy which had combined such cruelties, succeeded in Scotland as in Ireland; all submitted. The Edinburgh road was infested with robbers, known by the name of moss-troopers; Monk pursued them, seized them in their retreat at Dirlton,† and disorder was replaced by at least the appearances of peace.

After a short residence in England for the recovery of his health, Monk set out again

* M. Guizot has misunderstood his biographers. Gumble (p. 44) says the loss of the vessels might be a judgment for the *plunder* of which they bore the fruits, but says not a word of the cruelty. As for the illness (which was "spotted fever," and for which he went to Bath, Whitel. 510,) Gumble does not give any explanation of it; and Skinner (p. 44) supposes only that it might have been sent as "an alloy to his success, or as a chastisement for serving under such confederates."

† Whitel. p. 478. Dirlton was a fortress on the Firth, near North Berwick. Carlisle, Topogr. Dict., Grose (Antiq. of Scotl. i. 72) gives a print of it.

for Scotland, in the beginning of 1652, with St. John, Vane, Lambert, and some other commissioners, despatched, together with himself, to promote the union of the two nations. Monk, specially charged, it would seem, with the secret instructions of Cromwell, showed himself in Scotland vigilant and rigorous against the Presbyterians, and favourable to the remnants of the party of Montrose; and in spite of the recollection of his recent cruelties, he laid at this period the foundation of that royalist popularity, which afterwards, and with so distant a prospect, turned towards him all the hopes of the party of the restoration.*

The year following, Monk was joined to Admiral Blake, and Admiral Dean, in the command of the fleet which was then engaged in the war against Holland. On the 2nd of June, the English, with a force of ninety-five ships of war, and

* The Presbyterians of Scotland, after their disaster at Dunbar, were divided into *Resolutioners*, or those who had resolved in favour of admitting Hamilton's more moderate party into the army, and *Remonstrators*, or those who remonstrated against such a step as ungodly. Cromwell had sided with the latter, the more bigoted party; Monk began by favouring the former; and by his orders against oaths imposed by the Kirk, and in behalf of excommunicated persons, was evidently averse to the violent religionists. Whitel. 520, and Skinner, 70.

the Dutch with ninety-eight, met and came to an action on the coast of Flanders. Blake was at the time separated from the body of the fleet with a squadron of eighteen ships. Tromp commanded the Dutch fleet. Dean was killed in the first broadside close to Monk; Monk flung his cloak over the admiral's body, forbade the flag to be struck, forced the Dutch to retreat, and pursued them through the night. Next morning, reinforced by the junction of Blake, he renewed his attack upon the enemy, took from them eleven vessels, sunk six, and obliged the rest to fly. A report of his death spread over Europe. On the 31st of July, the two fleets came to action again. The Dutch, who had been to refit in their ports, had the advantage of numbers. Monk, in order not to occupy his ships in guarding prizes, gave orders to sink all the vessels that might be taken. Thirty perished with their whole complement, and Tromp was killed in the action at the moment when, sword in hand on the deck of his ship, he was encouraging his men to fight. The Dutch took to flight, and sued for peace.* The

* Monk was at this period in his forty-fourth year, and, as Gumble very naturally remarks, was new to such warfare, yet opposed to Van Tromp, an old and distinguished seaman;

admirals returned to London to gather the fruits of their triumph. The parliament voted them chains and gold medals, as marks of honour; and on the day of the dinner given in the city to celebrate the victory, Cromwell himself put the chain upon Monk's neck, and obliged him to retain it during the whole festival.*

The return of the new admiral was marked by a domestic event, which was not without its influence on his public conduct and reputation. Unrefined tastes, and that need of repose in his private life, which usually accompanies activity in public affairs, had consigned him to the dominion of a woman of low character, destitute even of the charms which seduce, and whose manners did not belie the rumour which gave for her extraction a market-stall, or even, according to some, a much less respectable profession. She had lived for some time past with Monk, and

which makes the service the more brilliant. Gumble (p. 63-65) gives some original letters from officers who were present in the action. There seem to be certain little numerical inaccuracies in the text, but they are not worth correcting here.

* This is the account given in the Biogr. Brit. without authority. Gumble's (p. 77) is, that it was Cromwell himself who invited him to dinner, and then put the chain upon his neck.—See the medal engraved, in Mackinnon's History of the Coldstream Guards, vol. i. p. 58.

united to the influence of habit an impetuosity of will and words difficult to be resisted by the tranquil apathy of her lover. It is asserted that she had managed, as long since as the year 1649, to force him to a marriage; but this marriage was most certainly not declared till 1653; for a letter from London, the 19th of September in that year, thus announced the news:—"Our Admiral Monk hath lately declared an ugly common —— his wife, and legitimated three or four bastards he hath had by her during his growth in grace and saintship."* The newsmonger had, apparently, amused himself with adding to the scandal, for Monk is not known to have had a child older than his son Christopher, Duke of Albemarle after him, and born in the course of this same year, 1653. There is, therefore, reason to believe, that the birth of this son was the motive for the marriage. Monk, besides, had endeavoured to put on that religious appearance which was then indispensable to success; and though little fitted for the hypocritical jargon of the times, thought it at least right to discard from his conduct all irregularities likely to shock the

* Thurloe, i. 470. The letter is anonymous, but is clearly from Colonel Doleman to his wife.

eyes of the saints. It appears certain, in fact, that his wife, in order to persuade him to it, employed, if not the influence of religion, at least the exhortations of its ministers: "Taking no care for any other part of herself," says Clarendon, "she had deposited her soul with some presbyterian ministers."* They asserted the necessity of the marriage; and perhaps employed, to bring Monk to a decision, some of those sermons, whereof his wife, during their union, took care to make use, when she wanted to tire out his resistance. She was one of those somewhat ignoble causes which determined him to the exertion of his superior faculties in a great crisis; and became afterwards, in his elevation, a conspicuous proof of the vulgarity of his tastes and habits.†

* This again is one of the passages suppressed in the first editions of Clarendon, and restored in that of Oxford.—*Note in Revue Française.*

† The abuse of this woman, whose name was Anne Clarges, is almost all we know concerning her. Ludlow, Clarendon, Burnet, with some others, speak of her as in the text, and take no pains to moderate the terms in which they reflect upon Monk's choice of a companion. The remainder of the restored passage in Clarendon is curious. "He was cursed, after long familiarity, to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit, and less beauty. ..... She was a woman, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, so utterly unacquainted with all persons of quality of either

But all disappeared at that time in the popularity of Monk's naval victories; the first which

sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her." (vii. 383.) Yet she was sister to Dr. Thomas Clarges, who was a physician, and whose family is said to have come from Hainault, in the time of Edward IV. (Betham, Baronetage of Eng., ii. 431, Debrett, &c.) So that he belonged at least to a gentleman's profession, and to a family not of so very low an extraction. We shall hear more of him hereafter. In these points, therefore, it is more than probable that the said writers "have carried their spleen too far, or implicitly followed those whose interest it was to blemish the reputation of General Monk, and all who belonged to him." (Biogr. Brit., Art. Monk.) That she was vulgar and imperious, however, is clear enough; and the mere casual mention made of her by his flatterers shows that they did not think she did him much credit. Nevertheless, she does here and there get a good word. Broderick, writing to Hyde, calls her "an extreme good woman, far from vanity, and full of zeal to his Majesty;" and again, "a very worthy woman;" (Clar. State Pap. iii. 739 & 749;) and Lord Mordaunt does not scruple to term her "a very excellent woman." (Ibid. 741.) She owed much of these compliments, perhaps, to her royalist zeal. But they are found in a private correspondence, and, with all such allowance, they prove some exaggeration against her enemies and his. He used to humour her in an amusing fashion. "Her custom was," says Price,(Mas. Sel. Tr. 712,) "when the general's and her own work and the day were ended, to come into the dining-room to him (at Dalkeith) in her *treason gown*, (as I called it,) I telling him that when she had that gown on, he would allow her to say anything. And, indeed, her tongue was her own then, and she would not spare it; insomuch that I, who still chose to give my

[illegible] afforded to the [illegible] over a foreign [illegible] of the Long [illegible] Barebone Parliament [illegible] who looked [illegible] of the Lord, and [illegible] when they had [illegible] Monk was in [illegible] At one time

[illegible] have [illegible] and charged the servants to [illegible] It is easy to conceive [illegible] a man that had wit [illegible] sometimes as it was [illegible] the theme being so [illegible] confidence [illegible] the general [illegible] bearing [illegible] was moderate [illegible] So, what [illegible] that neither [illegible] and- [illegible] but I have [illegible] to lose upon [illegible] was called to [illegible] the same [illegible] meet [illegible]

their enthusiasm for him gave uneasiness to Cromwell. Weary of having incessantly to deceive, without ever being able to lead them, he had certained that there was no depending, for the execution of his designs, upon men who, though abounding in faith,. lacked common sense. Resolved to lead them to a surrender of the power which it was not his wish to wrest from them, he feared lest they should make use of Monk as a support against his insinuations, or as an engine against his will. He was soon reassured. Monk accepted the brilliant station assigned to him, but without aiming to improve it for his aggrandisement; and Cromwell, skilful in discovering foibles of which he stood in need, understood, after a short conference, that Monk, too much attached to what he already possessed to risk by seeking to increase it, was a sure man so long as he had nothing to apprehend. Cromwell persevered, therefore, without fearing any obstacle in that quarter.* The Bare-

* I think M. Guizot has misplaced this communication between Cromwell and Monk. We are told by Gumble (p. 73) that he consulted him about the 16th of April, before he expelled the *Rump*, and by Skinner (p. 62) that he did not omit to sound him before he trusted him in Scotland. Now Cromwell was made Protector on the 16th of Dec. 1653, and Monk was then at sea, and seems certainly to

bone Parliament easily submitted to expulsion, and four days afterwards a council of officers named Cromwell protector.*

Cromwell, henceforth arbiter of peace or war,

have been so since Nov. 18, at least. (Whitelocke, p. 571.) He tried Whitelocke, however, upon the point, even in November 1652; and he therefore probably in the course of that year had done as much also with respect to Monk.

* That the public assent to this step was, however, by no means unanimous, appears from many circumstances in the history of that period. There is one amusing anecdote in Thurloe, (i. 641,) written by a royalist immediately after the occasion, and afterwards intercepted, of "an ordinary fellow at Temple Bar, who coming accidentally there, and seeing a troop of horse standing, and a herald proclaiming him, inquired what was the matter. A trumpeter replied, and told him they were proclaiming his highness the Lord Protector Cromwell. 'He,' says the fellow, 'protects none but such rogues as thou art.'" The trooper struck at him, but was by him pulled off his horse, amid the laughter of the bystanders; and the story serves to show the popular temper with respect to that event. As for Monk, his political opinions were generally merged in his military and executive duties; so that there was an established government *at all*, his predilections for any particular form were not strong enough much to affect his conduct; and if we may judge by his two letters, in May, 1657, (Thurloe, vi. 292, 310,) at the time of the Petition and Advice, when Cromwell refused the title of king, he would have been nearly as well satisfied if he had accepted it. It is true he therein expresses his pleasure; but it is at the prospect of a settlement, and at the acquiescence of parliament in the refusal which renders that settlement practicable, and not at the refusal itself.

thought it useful to his new authority to treat with the Dutch, on more favourable conditions than the parliament and the council of state had been willing to allow them. Monk had opposed the peace. He loved not the Dutch, who had formerly affronted him; shared the popular prejudices of an Englishman against them; and, as enemies, despised them with the confidence of a soldier and a victor. Moreover, he was master of the sea, and did not reckon on resigning it so soon. He took part in the public indignation against a treaty, which wounded the national pride at the same time with a considerable number of private interests; and his vehemence in this respect added to his popularity in the country, without at all lessening his credit with the Protector. Being charged with the regulation of navy accounts,* he thence acquired new titles to the public favour; his protection was obtained for every right, and every service; the wounded, the widows, the orphans, gained by his aid the allowances which were due to them; and those

* He was named commissioner of the admiralty and navy, with Blake, Desborough, and Pen, for six months. Whitel. p. 570.

who had followed him in dangers, learnt to rely upon him in peace as in the hour of battle. One evening, while he was at business in the navy office, some thousand sailors arrived tumultuously to complain of the delay in paying them their prize-money. Monk came out, and promised them that they should be paid as soon as all the captured ships were sold. They retired apparently satisfied with this assurance. In the afternoon Monk went to Whitehall, and was still there, occupied in reporting to the protector what had occurred, when they were apprized that a more numerous mob than that of the morning was advancing towards the palace, armed with swords, pistols, and clubs; and that it was already close to Charing Cross. Monk had given the sailors one of those promises which he was never known to break; indignant that it should not suffice, he rushed out of Whitehall; and followed by Cromwell, and by some others who hurried after him, he encountered the mutineers, fell upon them sword in hand, and, striking right and left, dispersed them still more by his presence than by his blows. He had, in the confusion, wounded in the nose a man who was there only by acci-

dent. He sent him ten pounds; "But," said he, "what business had the owl in a crowd of birds of prey?" *

New storms were gathering in Scotland. Cromwell had no longer to achieve, but to defend his power. He could not leave England, and he looked around him for some one to whom he might entrust the dangerous distinction of representing him. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, were not capable of it. He dared not invest Lambert, out of his own sight, with such a commission, who, though little qualified to succeed, was ready to attempt much. He resolved to confide it to Monk, but with all the precautions of distrust. The body of troops which he gave him was composed of the most

* "What did a jackdaw do among rooks?" Gumble, p. 76. The saying is stupid enough; and M. Guizot, when he altered, might as well have improved it. Probably, what Monk really said, had rather more point than is contained in the contrast between a jackdaw and a rook, or between an owl and a bird of prey! In the Lives, Eng. and For. (ii. 144, edit. 1704,) Whitelocke is quoted as stating that the mob was dispersed by the protector's guards; "which is more probable." But there is some confusion here. Whitelocke places the tumult on the 27th of Oct. 1653. Monk was not named a commissioner for the navy till the 6th Dec., according to the same authority; and therefore he could not have met the seamen in that character.

restless and most fanatic of the army. He was aware of Monk's aversion for those gentry; and knowing also the degree to which Monk was suspected by them, he calculated that they would watch each other.*

Monk arrived in Scotland the 23rd of April, 1654. He found a ferment and disturbance in all quarters. On one side, the Earl of Middleton,† at the head of the royalists, who had risen

* The fact was, the army in Scotland had been already filled with these people by Lilburn, a fanatic anabaptist, who had been left in command there. Skinner (p. 79) remarks that the sending Monk to Scotland was a great oversight on the part of Cromwell; and Cromwell indeed seems never after to have been quite at his ease about him; though I think there is no reason to believe that Monk was really unsteady during Cromwell's lifetime.—This was the last time that Monk and Cromwell met.

† Although M. Guizot, as well as Skinner, here call him the Earl of Middleton, he was not really so till after the Restoration. He had begun by taking part in the rebellion, but "lived," says Clarendon, "to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth." (iv. 543) He was created Lord Clermont and Fettercairn, and Earl of Middleton, Oct. 1. 1660. His son attached himself to James II., and the title was forfeited in 1695. (Beatson, Pol. Ind. vol. iii.) Douglas says he cannot trace the family beyond 1708. According to Baillie, (ii. 378,) he found in the Highlands, Isles, &c. a force of 8,000 or 9,000 foot, and 2,000 or 3,000 horse, "very stout, resolute men as ever we had in the field, and most of them old soldiers." But they were disheartened by the king's absence, and that of all foreign aid.

in the Highlands; on the other, the people discontented and ready for sedition; the army, without discipline, abandoned to all kinds of religious follies, and at open war with the presbyterian clergy, which it had driven from the churches and the pulpit. Monk deemed it indispensable that these ardent spirits should be employed in labours of greater difficulty; and having made rapid preparations, and left some troops to keep the Lowlands in subjection, he entered the mountains with his army; where he found, if not many of the enemy to fight with, at least work enough to make it daily feel the need of repose. He had divided it into two bodies, the one commanded by himself, the other by General Morgan, in order to press the enemy on all sides. His first care was to secure, as he advanced, all the posts susceptible of defence. Having arrived one day at the house of a certain Campbell of Glenorchie, he thought it fit for the reception of a small garrison. The laird refused to cede it. "Well," said Monk, "I will not violate hospitality;" and he immediately commanded the officers who accompanied him, to evacuate the house. "Now," said he to the laird, "look to the defence, for we are about to attack." The laird, however, though

surrounded by many of his friends and relations, thought fit to treat, and consented to receive a garrison, on condition that a portion of his house should be reserved for his own use.*

Monk had established at Leith, at St. Johnstoun, and at Inverness, large magazines of fodder and biscuit; from whence he drew the supplies for all his small posts, and had thus the requisite stores at all times within his reach. He made each soldier take provisions for six days; and, burdened only with this light baggage, he penetrated into retreats hitherto considered inaccessible by the Highlanders. The horse could not always follow him. Many were disabled among the precipices, and he once lost forty-one in a bog.† But in these unknown regions, amid enemies everywhere concealed along his march, his vigilance never permitted the slightest advantage against him. Instructed by the spies or the

* This was the first Earl of Breadalbane, which title was given in 1681, with a remainder to his nearest legitimate heirs male. A century later, in 1782, the descent of the title accordingly travelled back as far as the uncle of this first Earl, to reach its present wearer.

† Whitelocke confirms this account; and says, (Aug. 14, 1654,) such was the desolation, that "in a march of three days, the English saw only one Scotsman and two women." Also, Baillie, ii. 382.

correspondence which he maintained in all quarters, he regulated his marches by certain information. They were short. Having almost always reached by mid-day the place where he intended to encamp, he himself chose the ground, posted the sentinels, inspected everything, and sent out parties to forage or explore; then, seating himself on the ground, he took, in the midst of his officers, a repast of cold meat; an article which at all times followed him in abundance, and which he usually shared with them. In the evening he received them in his tent, at a table covered with whatever the country could furnish. The soldiers relied on his active vigilance, as upon the walls of a fortress. He took charge of their food; did his best to provide them with quarters; watched over them in difficulties; and even had, when necessary, his remedies and prescriptions. He thus, in every sense, overran the enemy's country, in one place repressing, in another dispersing them; while he harassed and starved Middleton, who, destitute of magazines and places of security, had reckoned, both for his subsistence and defence, on the country itself, of which he did not believe that his possession could be disputed. Neither the one nor the other wished to come to an engage-

ment. Middleton did not think himself in a condition to sustain one,* and Monk felt sure that he could do without it. The secret communications maintained by Cromwell in the country, and the pardon promised to submission, had weakened the resolutions of the Scottish chiefs; and making it impossible for Middleton to risk a battle, condemned him to suffer destruction in detail. Meantime, Morgan having surprised and defeated him at Lough Garry, that check at once demolished the lingering remnant of the party.† Middleton retired to an island,‡ from whence he passed to Holland. The country submitted; the army did not quit it till it had, by means of a certain number of garrisons, secured the payment of taxes, which the Highlanders had hitherto thought they could refuse with impunity; and order was established in these sanctuaries for plunder, with such effect, that the owner of a strayed horse, it is said, recovered it in the country by means of a crier.

* Skinner (p. 6) on the contrary states, that "observing daily the decay of his forces and the ruin of the country, he was very earnest to have come to a battle," but was overruled by a council of war.

† Loch Garry is a small lake in the north-west of Perthshire. The action took place on the 19th of July, 1654. Whitelock, 597.

‡ To Skye. Thurloe, iii. 66.

Monk returned to Edinburgh towards the end of August, 1654. He was armed with the power of a conqueror, and he exercised it with severity. The anabaptists were repressed. The presbyterians were allowed the free exercise of their religion; but they were forbidden to interfere in civil matters with the arm of excommunication, or to publish their opinions on the measures of government.* The general assemblies, under a rigorous search, dissolved themselves at sight of a corporal's party. A Scotch gentleman was no longer permitted to wear a sword,—to ride a horse of more than a certain value,—to raise his standard against his personal enemies,—or to execute arbitrary justice over his vassals or his household. All bowed to a yoke, equitable although severe,

* This had been done as early as the beginning of the year 1652. (See Note, p. 64.) And the chief reason for the violent proceedings here mentioned was, that the presbyterian clergy had begun to pray for the king, which led to a quarrel with Monk. Baillie, ii. 378, 399. Thurloe, vi. 505. Yet Baillie, who was one of them, acknowledges that Monk "had always a civil bearing;" and we find that he wrote to Cromwell in their behalf more than once. Thurloe, iii. 117, &c. There is also in Thurloe (vi. 401) a letter from one of these, named Drummond, whom he had recommended to Cromwell, and who was much trusted, urging him to grant Monk lands in Ireland, instead of some in Islay, which had been leased to the Duke of Lennox; and to allow him to remain in Scotland.

which was rendered more tolerable by regularity, and was not aggravated by insult. The army was controlled like the nation. No disorder was suffered, no injustice tolerated, either on the part of the officer towards the soldier, or of the soldier towards the inhabitants. The troops, well paid, diffused plenty in the country, and brought with them only peace. The general, calm and indefatigable in his activity, had fixed his residence at Dalkeith, a seat of the Earls of Buccleuch, which he had taken on lease; and where he passed the five years of his command in Scotland. There,—ever engaged in business or in his planting, which he loved as an amusement and occupation—he gave access to every one; listened to everything; had a language for all conditions, all ranks, and all parties; kept himself well informed on all subjects; and ascertaining what he might have to fear or to promote, directed, by his own personal knowledge, the numerous spies, whose reports never missed his ears or hands. He thus spared that useless vexation which excites more hatred against a suspicious government, even than its rigour.

Towards the month of June,* Cromwell ap-

* Gumble (p. 88) states that Cromwell had given Monk a hint (which Monk did not choose to take) that he wished

pointed a commission to govern Scotland, composed of Lord Broghill, president, Monk, Desborough, and Colonels Howard, Lockhart, Scrope, and Wetham. Their powers were very extensive; and the majority which Monk had regularly in this council, placed these almost wholly in his hands.* Dalkeith was really the centre of government; and the Scottish nobility, towards whom the obsequious civility of Monk palliated the harshness of his authority, learnt to approach him, and to derive, from his sentiments towards the proscribed dynasty, a confidence, which he never so sanctioned as to be obliged to discourage it.

Monk, subservient as he was to Cromwell,—the hope of the royalist party,—and inflexible in denying any direct interference of the Lord in matters

him to command the expedition which sailed to the West Indies in March, 1655; and this was probably a symptom, among many others, of Cromwell's growing uneasiness as to his power and independence in Scotland.

* This council continued to act till the deposition of Richard. (Mas. Sel. Tr. 717.) Broghill, Howard, and Wetham, afterwards assisted in the Restoration; though Broghill at least seems to have intended that it should be accompanied with conditions. (Thurloe, vii. sub fin.) He was fourth son of the Earl of Cork, and was in 1660 created Earl of Orrery. "He was exceeding wise and moderate," says Baillie, (ii. 408,) and "gained more on the affections of the people than all the English that ever were among us."

of business, was necessarily an object of hatred to the fanatics, both religious and political. This had displayed itself at the earliest period of his residence in Scotland. Overton, major-general of his infantry, a fifth-monarchy man and leader of the discontented, had formed a plot to seize upon the command, and to declare against Cromwell. The conspirators were to surprise Monk at Dalkeith on the first of January, 1656; some would have had him killed; but Samuel Oates,* a minister, opposed it; threatening, if they persisted, to divulge all. This obstacle adjourned the consultation to another time. Monk, informed of the design, caused Overton and some of his accomplices to be arrested and conveyed to London, in the latter days of December; a large number of

* M. Maseres, in his *Select Tracts*, &c., supposed that this Oates, whose christian name Price, the narrator of the circumstance, does not supply, was the famous Titus Oates. M. Guizot had expressed doubts on this assertion, (v. *Collection des Memoires relatifs à la Revolution d'Angleterre*, Price's Memoirs, p. 148, note,) but without assigning other reasons than the impossibility of the fact. The error is now demonstrated. The Oates in question is Samuel Oates, or Otes, Chaplain of Colonel Pride's regiment, as may be seen by his signature subscribed to a letter addressed by several of the party to Major Holman, (Holme's,) major of Monk's regiment. (Intercepted letter of Dec. 18. Thurloe, State Papers, v. iii. p. 30.) *Note in Revue Française.*

others were cashiered; and Monk profited by the occasion to proscribe throughout his army that fanatic and independent spirit towards which he entertained the deepest antipathy.*

This conspiracy was the only one from which he had to preserve himself during his residence in Scotland. The royalist plots were more numerous at this period. They multiplied around Cromwell; but, in Monk's case, the efforts of the party took a different direction. As early as the year 1655, he had received the following letter from the king:

Cologne, 12th Aug. 1655.

"One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me, that notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve

* The letters connected with this conspiracy are among Thurloe's papers. (iii. 132 and 217, &c.) Oates was the only clergyman present. Overton's own writings are a curious compound of fanaticism and levity. But Monk, writing to the protector, says, (perhaps as an artifice,) "I am confident, if your highness do but weigh the letters well, you will find Col. Overton had a design to promote the Scots king's business." Yet nothing could be apparently more absurd, either from their tenor or the character of the writer. Monk found him little enough disposed to such a design, when he displaced him from Hull in 1660.

to express it upon the seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect. When it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture; and can never but suspect your affection to be as I am confident it is towards your, &c.

CHARLES REX."

Monk sent this letter to Cromwell.* Whatever might be his disposition or his anticipation,

* Or as Campbell (Lives of the Admirals, ii. 350) more correctly says, "*a copy* of it," for this was certainly the case. In Thurloe (iv. 162) it appears with the letter in which Monk enclosed it, and he thus writes to Cromwell: "I ..... of two letters sent by Col. Borthwick, which by means of a friend I had sight of before they were delivered. One of them is to my Lord Glencairne. To whom the other is, I know not as yet; but I shall speedily know when it is delivered." Whence it is manifest that he sent a copy only; first, because the *hiatus* in this passage requires such words to fill it; and secondly, because he clearly announces his intention to allow it to proceed, that he may discover its destination; which appears from other passages to have been his usual practice in such cases. Yet, although he promises that discovery, there is no farther mention of it to be found in Thurloe. On the other hand, it is also published, from

he never forestalled the future. Solely intent at all times upon securing his position at the mo-

the original, in the appendix to the Life of Dr. Barwick, Dean of St. Paul's, written by his brother in Latin; and the account he gives of it is as follows: (p. 186) "Illustrissimus princeps Christopherus, Dux Albemarliæ, ostendere mihi literas dignatus est, ad patrem suum in Scotiâ imperantem, quadriennio saltem ante Regnum restitutum à serenissimo Rege datas, et Regiâ manu exaratas; .... has ille literas inter lectissima κειμήλια reposuit." "The most illustrious Prince, Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, condescended to show me a letter to his father, when commanding in Scotland, despatched by his most gracious majesty, at least four years before the restoration of the monarchy, and written by the king's own hand; .... this letter he preserved among his choicest treasures." There can be no reason to doubt this passage; and Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, can only have become possessed of the letter through the careful preservation of it by his father. The fact is highly curious, as an indication of Monk's disposition, even at that early period; and I think, if carefully and impartially considered, the same incident which appears at first sight to prove his abjuration of all royalist thoughts in 1655, by the immediate transmission of this letter to Cromwell, on a closer view irresistibly demonstrates an interest in the advances of that party, by his having relinquished the copy only, while he treasured up the original. The whole proceeding, indeed, looks like an artifice to impress Cromwell with a strong sense of his unreserved fidelity, which could scarcely have cheated that acute observer of men; for no one, I think, can read the king's letter, with a knowledge of the circumstances under which it was sent, and of the position of the several parties to the transaction, and yet feel that he could have doubted as to its

ment, he left it to time to decide what he might afterwards have to do. As he was too powerful already not to give umbrage, he was likewise enough so to make it dangerous to attack him, if he did not furnish weapons against himself. While he avoided giving a pretext for suspicion, he derived strength from the very alarms which he was in a condition to inspire; and Cromwell, reduced to observe him, felt that he was slipping from his grasp. During the latter years of the protectorate, and of the residence of Monk in Scotland, on the one side may be observed the growth of uneasiness; and on the other, security and

destination. We need not suppose that Monk had already formed any definite design; but we can hardly refuse to conclude that he admitted such notions, and judged it worth while to bestow some thought upon them. There was certainly at the time a strong public persuasion that he was thus inclined, which led the royalists, in the course of the few following years, into many acts of embarrassing indiscretion; so that we find he was frequently annoyed by letters from Holland, against which he was forced openly to protest; (Price in Mas. Sel. Tr. 711;) and whatever might be his inclination, these made it obviously only the more indispensable that he should renounce everything likely to give even a colour to such surmises. But we know from his subsequent conduct how to estimate any such public demonstrations; and they cannot weigh for a moment against incidents so pregnant as this in question.

confidence, although always accompanied by the forms of respect, and an appearance of unlimited devotion. If Monk congratulates the protector on the resolution which he has formed to assemble a parliament, the advantage which he specially discerns in it is, that if this new assembly conducts itself ill, his highness cannot be blamed for governing without it. (July 1, 1656.) When he demands a reduction of the taxes in Scotland, or when he insists on the motives of justice which direct those who have united her with England to place her on a footing of equality;* "then," adds he, "in case they be not quiet, I think it were just reason to plant it with English." (June 4, 1657.)

But his pursuit of the latter object was not on this account less steady. Being consulted by Cromwell, as it appears, the same year, on a design formed by the government for interfering in the nomination of the magistrates of Glasgow, he remonstrates strongly upon the illegality and danger of such an attempt. (Sept. 24, 1657.) The

* One of the chief grounds for these remonstrances in behalf of the equality of Scotland with England was, that the parliament had made a difficulty of admitting the members returned from thence, notwithstanding the Union.

following year, he solicits aid for the city of Edinburgh, when reduced to extreme embarrassment by its debts and its poverty. (March 17, 1658.) Monk appears not merely as the man of power, occupied with control and repression, but as a fellow countryman, affected by the interests, careful of the rights, and attentive to the wants of the nation. Cromwell, though uneasy, is afraid of displeasing, while he would gladly weaken him. He withdraws from him his surest officers and regiments, in order to replace them by the most restless, the most intractable of that party over which Monk has no control, and against which he has always employed and advised severity. An order of the council of state directs the reduction of the number of troops stationed in Scotland. Monk remonstrates, and Cromwell retracts; but so tardily, that Monk, anxious to maintain himself, and not to quarrel, reluctantly announces his obedience. At the same moment the hopes of the royalists in Scotland are awakened; there is a rumour of a descent, and the nation is in a ferment. "They are as malignant," says Monk, "as ever I knew them."—"But," he adds elsewhere, "I do not see them look so much after Charles Stuart's business, but the hopes they

have of discontent among ourselves." (Monk to Thurloe, Jan. 13, 1658.) Under such circumstances it is that Monk is summoned to London, there to take a part in Cromwell's new House of Lords, which, conscious of shame and embarrassment, timidly announced itself by the name of the "Other House." Monk represents the necessity for leaving him in Scotland; (Monk to Thurloe, Jan. 9th, 1658;) and whether Cromwell had or had not an intention of withdrawing him from thence, he yields to his arguments, and Monk remains at Dalkeith; whence it was perhaps difficult to dislodge him, but whither it would have been easy not to send him back.*

* Monk's position in Scotland at this time was indeed amply sufficient to give uneasiness to Cromwell; for notwithstanding his various expedients for neutralising Monk's power,—by appointing a council,—giving him intractable troops,—and then reducing their number; and lastly, his attempts to entice him from his post, with offers of a lucrative command at a distance, and of political elevation at home; Monk still remained immovable in the exercise of the authority with which he was invested, and of the almost independent supremacy which he had acquired over the kingdom of Scotland. Among other devices to secure him, grants of land had not been forgotten, which might gratify his avarice, and bind him to the powers which conferred them. Soon after the flight of Middleton, we are told (Lives, English and Foreign, ii. 148) that Cromwell settled on him a consider-

Meantime the murmurs which foretell a storm are to be heard on all sides; the signs of a new revolution are in every ones thoughts; the eyes of Europe are fixed on England, and Monk is the object of all conjectures. Thurloe, the secretary of state, warns Lockhart, the ambassador in France, against the rumour which is spreading,

able estate out of the forfeitures in Ireland; and in the end of the year 1656, a grant of the barony of Keniell, which had belonged to the Duke of Hamilton, was confirmed to him by parliament, at his request. (Burton, Parl. Diary, i. 267. Thurloe, vi. 490.) The empire which he had established over Scotland was remarkable, and is no slight testimony to that capacity for civil as well as military administration, with which he was certainly endowed. When Cromwell calls a parliament in 1656, Monk answers for Scotland; and notwithstanding his remonstrance against interference in Glasgow, he manages the election of several Englishmen who might be trusted,—Clarges, Whalley, Salmon, and others,—for the Scottish counties; "though," says he, "I have kept myself and Major-General Morgan from being chosen, because I know we cannot be spared from home." (Thurloe, v. 277.) At the same time, though conscious of his strength, I believe he was perfectly content to remain true to Cromwell. His letters are full of practical information as to the proceedings of the protector's enemies: and not only does he refuse all encouragement to the royalists, but we find him more than once pointing out suspicious persons, and recommending spies upon the king, who are "very great with Charles Stuart, and will be very far trusted by him;" (Thurloe, iii. 700, iv. 221, &c.) which, if he had formed any fixed design to aid him, would have been a superfluous counteraction of his own purpose.

that Monk has refused to obey the protector. He reassures Downing, the resident in Holland, against the same reports.* Finally, Cromwell writes to Monk, in the postscript of a letter, "There be that tell me that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart; I pray use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me;"—a joke, no doubt, intended to apprise Monk that Cromwell was on the watch.†

At length the vigilance and the genius of one man had become scarcely sufficient to sustain a baseless sovereignty, when Cromwell died on the 3rd September, 1658. The last expiring breath of his influence lifted his son to the protectorate for a few days. Monk did not refuse to follow the movement, but he assumed the place in it which became him; and the remonstrance, which, at the same time that he acknowledged Richard, he

* Thurloe, vi. 863, 872.

† (Price, in Mas. Sel. Tr. 712.) It is in fact evidence of no more, and proves nothing as to Monk's disposition. We have seen enough to show that Cromwell had some cause for his jealousy; and it was quite sufficient for him that Monk was the object, though he might not be the centre, of royalist intrigue.

addressed to him, through his own brother-in-law, Dr. Clarges,* is written with the tone of one whose

* Clarges was a physician, as we are told, (see note, p. 69;) but whether we are to believe with Betham and Debrett, (ibid.) that he was of ancient and gentle blood, or with Granger, (iv. 157,) the son of a blacksmith, and brother to a sempstress, I shall not undertake to decide. He was employed by Richard Cromwell and the parliament, in all probability with the view of obliging Monk, to whose designs he was subsequently of great use. He seems to have been sensible and discreet; and even Burnet (Oxf. Edit. i. 168) calls him "an honest but haughty man." He sat for Ross and Sutherland in the parliament of 1656; yet we find him, somewhat later, speaking of episcopacy as "the most ancient and decent way of worship and discipline." (Baker's Chron. 750.) In his youth, however, he had been in the king's service at Oxford, (ibid. 654,) and he appears to have been one of the many conformers in religion during the commonwealth. Cromwell, probably in order to secure more effectually the good-will of Monk towards Richard, had desired him to ask and follow Monk's advice. Upon his accession he therefore despatched Clarges to him as an acceptable envoy, and Monk returned through Clarges a paper, which he called "Remonstrances of what I desire you to communicate to his highness," and which appears in Thurloe, (vii. 387.) Mr. Hallam (Constit. Hist. ii. 381, 8vo.) thinks that the very "sensible advice" contained in this remarkable paper is a proof that Monk felt no good-will towards the royalists at that period. I own this appears to me to be building conclusions on a most unsubstantial basis. Mr. Hallam remarks only just before, that Monk was "strongly attached to Cromwell;" and it is surely no very strained hypothesis to suppose, that immediately after the protector's death, Monk would have abstained from betraying his last confidence by misleading his son, even if he had felt a more

advice is to be respected. In his opinion, Richard can only establish himself firmly by means of

decided inclination to help the king. But, moreover, so sagacious an observer as Monk, must have become convinced that the best advice would do little at that moment to check the current of events which Richard had to stem. Gumble assures us (p. 93) that "General Monk's opinion of Cromwell after he was dead was, that it was not possible for him to have held the government much longer if he had lived." I see no reason to disbelieve this: Monk was clear-sighted enough, and others saw it besides him. How much less, then, could he have supposed that Richard would be able to maintain that same sovereignty! And after all, what was the advice he gave him? To summon to his councils "the most prudent of the old lords that have been faithful," and "some of the leading gentry." He must have been well aware of the tendencies of that class; and among others named by him are to be found Lord Broghill and Sir George Booth, the latter of whom was a few months afterwards in open arms for the king. But a little farther on, Mr. Hallam himself observes, that Monk was probably satisfied of the expediency of the restoration from the fall of the Cromwells; (ii. 384;) and at any rate everything seemed to prove that his views, and possibly his feelings, then underwent some change. The fact was, that Cromwell had been his early patron, and his victorious commander; and he was perfectly reconciled to a supremacy which, while it was recommended by such claims upon his allegiance, left him his own power and independence. When claims of this kind had passed away, it was natural that he should turn to those which could alone compete with them in strength, and which would necessarily supersede any of the presumptuous usurpations to which he was afterwards expected to submit.

the presbyterian party, which he, Monk, regards as that of the nation; and Richard will find more facility in doing so than his father, "having not the same obligations to many disquieted spirits." He advises the establishment of religious conformity in essential points, and liberty on all others; insists on the necessity for reducing the army, and purging it of the independents, a measure of little danger, whatever might be asserted, for "there is not," says he, "an officer in the army, upon any discontent, that has interest enough to draw two men after him, if he be out of place." Finally, he recommends Richard, when he shall assemble parliament, to introduce into the House of Lords all those of the ancient nobility on whom he can rely, and some few gentlemen of influence in the different counties; among whom he points out to him Sir George Booth.

The new protector was proclaimed at Edinburgh, coldly, and amid the indifference which belonged to an insignificant ceremony. People there felt themselves out of range of the authority which was then endeavouring to establish itself in England; and without any interest in its fate. "Why not rather old George?" said the soldiers

and inferior officers; "he would be fitter for a protector than Dick Cromwell.* After this act of adhesion, Monk, out of reach of the storms which were gathering in the distance, resolved to await the moment when the safest course might present itself to his choice, and meantime to adopt or reject none.

Richard wanted money; and to obtain it a parliament was necessary. Efforts were made to fill it as far as possible with the creatures of Cromwell. But a parliament of any kind was incompatible with the dominion of the army, which was the sole prop of the protectoral power; and the republican party, which alone dared stir at that moment, had obtained sufficient footing in the House of Commons to embarrass at least the measures of the court. Richard loved neither the republicans, who were inconvenient to the authority which, although he could have dispensed with it, he desired to possess in peace,—nor the fanatic independents, who formed the active portion of the army, and whose enthusiasm offended his natural good sense, and the levity of his disposition. The army was very soon almost as much

* See Gumble, p. 94, who was at this time preacher to the council at Edinburgh, and therefore an eye-witness.

dissatisfied with Richard as with the parliament. Its principal commanders, with Lambert and Fleetwood at their head, having met at Wallingford house,* consulted together how they could undo what they had done; and nothing could be easier to those revolutionary spirits, for they had only to set up one government in the place of another. The Long Parliament, or at least that remnant of it which was afterwards called the *Rump*, presented itself and was approved. After a reduction in its numbers by divers exclusions, it had at last, in 1648, under Cromwell's influence, been *purged*, by the army, of the whole presbyterian party.† Of seventy-eight members who remained in their places after this purge,

* Wallingford-house, so famous in the history of this period, stood on the site of the present Admiralty. It belonged originally to the Knollys family, which bore the titles of Earl of Banbury and Viscount Wallingford, from whence it took its name. During the commonwealth it was used for several public offices; and after the Restoration, it is said to have been inhabited by Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; who had been born there, and who sold it in 1680. See Lambert, History of London, iii. 489. Nightingale's History of Westminster, p. 367; and Mem. prefixed to Works of the Duke of Buckingham, by T. Evans.

† Colonel Pride's purge, December 6th, 1648, took place while Monk was for the second time in Ireland.

twenty-eight had retired protesting against the violence; and fifty or fifty-three members at the most, who remained at Westminster, had sanctioned the measures of the army, and alone formed the parliament during the six weeks which preceded the king's death. Many of those whom disgust and alarm had expelled, had by degrees returned to their seats, and a house had been assembled of about one hundred and sixty or one hundred and eighty members, almost exclusively occupied in securing their own power, under favour of the bill which, in 1640, had declared that this parliament could only be dissolved by its own consent. Cromwell, anxious to reign in his turn, and weary of fruitless demands for their dissolution, had turned them out by force on the 19th April, 1653, entering the House himself at the head of his troops. The *Rump*, thus outraged, but not dissolved, had remained in its own opinion the only legal parliament of England; and constituted a small faction of ambitious intriguers, more important from their activity than from their talents. It may surprise one to remark among their number a few distinguished men; such as Sir Harry Vane, who still remained with them, because he could find neither room nor instruments else-

where for his opinions or designs; and Ludlow, rather practically able than politically enlightened, and too honest a man ever to acquiesce in the belief that he had done anything against his conscience. But the leaders and true representatives of the party were Sir Arthur Haslerig, a rapacious, headstrong, and vain-glorious agitator; Scott, almost as vain, and still more blind and obstinate; and some others, dupes as much of their interest as of their faith; ready to domineer whenever they were permitted; and uniting to the love of power and to fanatical opinions, all the ridicule of helplessness, and all the infatuation of legitimacy.

It was to this assembly, whereof forty-two members only were present in London, that the army resolved to confide the government of which it was at a loss how to dispose. After having obliged Richard to dissolve his parliament,* they

* Montague, in his journal (Harris, Life of Charles II. p. 194) remarks, that this parliament "had much of the interest of the nation in it;" and that Richard committed a great error in not proroguing it. But had he any real option? Ludlow says, (p. 271,) that Desborough came from the officers "and told him that if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that if he refused to do it, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself." That which Montague mentions as a recommendation, was obviously with them the best of reasons for getting rid of it;

re-installed the *Rump*, and with it the *good old cause*, that is to say, the republic, of which the *Rump* was declared to be the only true safeguard; "for," said they, "it had been ever favoured in this work with the special presence of God, and with his signal blessing."* Richard submitted to his fall without resistance, and without an effort on the part of any one to hinder it. Some time before, his friends had made an offer to Monk of 20,000*l.* a year, if he would engage to support him. Monk allowed them to hope everything,—made no engagement,—and answered, "The said revenue will do Richard more good than my sticking to him."† When the change was accomplished, he received it with his usual composure; congratulated the new authorities,—entertained the advances of Fleetwood and Lambert, and the assurances of favour

* Manuscript journal of Sir Edward Montague, afterwards Lord Sandwich.[1] Harris, Life of Charles II., p. 194. *Note in the Revue Française.*

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and the army was then far too strong for Richard and his allies.

† See Declaration of the Parliament, May 6th, 1659.

[1] Montague says he was assured of this by "one who was at London in the most intimate councils about pulling down Richard." Gumble also (p. 97) mentions the arrival of the messengers, though he says nothing of the offer, of which he would know nothing.

from the *Rump*, which, however, persevered, like Cromwell, in stripping of their commissions those officers who were most devoted to their general. Monk made his remonstrances, and meantime kept his officers, by consent of the parliament, until the arrival of those who were to have replaced them, and who never came.*

Things were now, however, rapidly advancing to their crisis. The moment for decision was at hand, and the circumspection of Monk himself was almost taken by surprise. Most of the English counties were preparing to support Sir George Booth, who, at the head of the Presbyterian party, had taken up arms on the 1st of August, 1659, in the county of Chester, with the ostensible purpose of obtaining the election of a free parliament, or at least the re-establishment of the entire parliament by the readmission of the members whom Cromwell had excluded. The royalists were not to appear at all; but the leaders of the two parties acted upon an understanding; and among the agents there were very few whose illusions were not the fruit of a most

* Monk, writing in February and March, 1659, says, "The army was never quieter nor in better condition since I commanded here."—Thurloe, vii. 616, 638.

complaisant acquiescence in the deception. Monk, indispensable to either side, attracted the eyes of both. Their different interests were in agitation around him, striving to shake his immovable demeanour. Even in his private circle, whether it was by art or by accident, the parties had their representatives;—Price, the general's chaplain, a hearty royalist and church of England man, his negociator with the Scottish cavaliers; and who, while he urged him daily to assist the good cause, and to re-establish the liberties and laws of England, took care never to pronounce the titles of *king* or *kingdom*;—Gumble, another chaplain, of Presbyterian opinions,* but intriguing and intelligent; a principal agent of Monk's, and devoted to all his projects;—lastly, Monk's wife, a zealous Presbyterian, and not less eager for the king, than against episcopacy. Possessed of a liberty of speech which it would have been difficult to dispute with her, she obliged her husband to hear what others would not have dared to utter to him; and, by her impetuosity, forced on the somewhat halting paces of his cautious character.

* At least he was ostensibly so at this period. But if we are to believe his own account, these opinions could have taken no very deep root. See Preface.

There were some others also, who, in their different gradations, endeavoured to make discoveries and to interfere; some secretly, others more openly; and among them all, the old general,* calm, silent, and too good-natured to be displeased where he refused to understand, tranquillised and satisfied each privately, by some concession in the sense of the interlocutor, or by some half-confidence, designed as much to conceal what he did not say, as to impress what he wished to have believed. Every one had his allotted part, and, on some given occasion, every one might consider himself the nominal confidant; "that is to say," according to the expression of Price, "him who had the post of first dupe to the general."† Beyond this intimate circle, Monk, exposed to the contrivances and curiosity of all who strove to gain or to understand him, found in his taciturnity a rampart which he seldom permitted to be forced. But even his silence was

* Monk was but fifty years of age in 1659, and therefore not quite to be described as "old."

† I have failed to find any such expression in Price; but it may be possible that M. Guizot has misunderstood a phrase of his where he afterwards tells us, that the general made use of Mr. Morrice as his confidant, and as a "State Blind" to deceive the Presbyterians.

significant; and, with him, it served to maintain at once both reserve and confidence. No sooner had any appearance of insinuation, or general preliminary observations, announced the purpose of introducing an overture, than Monk, with an air of profound attention, answered scarce at all,—differed still less,—opened no door for discussion, no channel for indiscretion: after exhausting a first attack, to desist became unavoidable; and each went away persuaded that he had either shaken him or found him well disposed, but without having received the smallest encouragement to venture upon anything more explicit.*

Meanwhile, in proportion as the time advanced, and circumstances became more urgent, these attacks became also more manifest; and it was necessary that he should find means to repel without deterring them; or to impart hopes without committing himself. The king and his partisans, persuaded that the insurrection of Sir George Booth must decide everything, redoubled

* Gumble (p. 117) thus describes him. In the Lives, Eng. and Foreign, ii. 353, we are told "the general's council consisted chiefly of *ladies*. He corresponded in England with the Lady Saville; he managed all Scotland by the assistance of the Countess of Buccleuch."

their efforts to secure its success. Sir Stephen Fox* arrived, bearing a letter, wherein Charles Stuart urged Monk to march with his army against the parliament. Monk received it coldly, without promise or reply, but he allowed the bearer to return with entire freedom. This was saying that he did not forbid similar messages. Colonel Atkins, charged by the Presbyterians to persuade him to abet the insurrection then about to burst forth in the north of England, pressed him as to what they might expect from him. "I shall send a force against them," sharply replied the old general; "by the duty of my place I can do no less;" and Price, the chaplain, questioned by

* Clarendon speaks of Sir Stephen Fox as a "young man of great industry, modesty, and prudence." He had the management of the king's expenses while Charles was abroad, and was after the Restoration raised to high office. He is ancestor to the Earl of Ilchester. This mission is mentioned in his memoirs, (p. 30,) but it is doubtful, from the wording of the passage, whether it took place at this period or later, during or after the march to London. I think the latter is more probable; because the appearance of so important an emissary could scarcely have been unknown to those about the general; and if so, they would surely have thought it as well worth recording as that of Colonel Atkins. Price (Mas. Sel. Tr. 760) mentions the advances of "a gentleman (whose sufferings were better known to me than I to him,)" soon after their arrival in town. Could this have been Sir Stephen Fox?

Atkins in his turn, appeared to believe that there was nothing to be done, " unless," added he carelessly, " the city of London would rise and shut up its gates."*

At length arrived an avowed agent, charged with positive proposals. Sir John Greenville, son of Sir Richard,† and one of the cavaliers most active in the king's service, had diligently maintained a tolerably familiar intercourse with his relation, Nicholas Monk, brother to the general; and had presented him to a valuable living in his gift, in the county of Cornwall.‡ Sir John had

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 708. Gumble (107) asserts that he did actually send two regiments of horse and two of foot to the parliament order, and " gave no ground of suspicion to them."

† This is a mistake. He was son to Sir Bevil, (elder brother to Sir Richard,) who fell so gallantly in the battle of Lansdown. (Skinner 95, Clar.) Sir John was created Earl of Bath after the Restoration.

‡ Kilkhampton, near Stratton, a living of about 300*l.* a year. From this transaction alone the disposition of Nicholas Monk must have been pretty well known to the parliament. Indeed, Skinner asserts that the " Committee of Tryers" could have refused him his title to the benefice if they had dared. (p. 100.) However, on this occasion, he made excuse of the marriage of his daughter, who was with the general, to account for his visit. The letters from the king were prudently left behind in the possession of Sir J. Greenville, who delivered them himself, with the same offers, as we shall pre-

also obtained from the king more extensive powers for treating with Monk, and for endeavouring to enlist him in the royal cause. Finally, at the time of Sir George Booth's rising, he despatched the minister to Dalkeith, charged with his instructions and the king's promises.

Nicholas Monk arrived at Dalkeith in the month of August,* two days after the visit of Atkins, and found his brother disposed to listen to him.† Monk feared and expected little from

sently see, at a later period. Nicholas Monk remained some time at Dalkeith, (Skinner, p. 108, says two months, which is confirmed by Price's account,) without suspicion; and the affair seemed to have been altogether admirably managed, for it attracted surprisingly little notice from the opposite party. Nicholas Monk was consecrated bishop of Hereford in January 1661, and died in the following December.

* He seems to have embarked for Leith shortly after the rising of Sir George Booth, which was on the 1st August, 1659. Mas. Sel. Tr. 707.

† Clarendon, on the contrary, in one of the restored passages (vii. 384) says, "he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom; using many oaths to him, that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition, he would cause him to be hanged." To this Mr. Hallam (ii. 382) observes, that Price's account is in flat contradiction; and he adds, that he therefore relies less on Price in other parts of his narrative; but that it is an "obscure point of history," which admits of much doubt—a judgment which, coming from such an au-

those ephemeral governments which were already crumbling, one upon the other, in London. The

thority, appears to me, I acknowledge, more surprising, the more I consider it. Mr. Hallam was perfectly well aware (as he tells us almost in the next page) that Clarendon wrote when upon the worst terms with Monk; that he betrays everywhere his notorious aversion to him; and that he never fails, where he can, to disparage his character, and to detract from his services. It was naturally a part of this plan to show that Monk had no designs whatever in the king's favour, and was merely forced on by the national impulse. What then is the value of his testimony in a case like this? But, on the other hand, we have an account from Price, who says he was privy to the transaction, and who relates it with such a detail of circumstances as he would scarcely have invented; who again speaks of it incidentally as having been subsequently mentioned by Sir John Greenville in his own interview, by way of a sort of pass-word to Monk's confidence; and who published his narrative in 1680, during the lifetime of Sir John Greenville and of Clarendon, the former of whom at least must have known the truth. We have this statement confirmed by Gumble, who was in the close intimacy both of Monk and Price, and who wrote long *before* the latter, in 1671; by Clarges, who was almost equally intimate with both, and who likewise furnished his continuation to Baker's chronicle (without copying his account from Gumble) in 1674, long before Price's publication; and lastly of Skinner, who, although he wrote later, (his work was published by Webster, in 1723; we know not how much earlier it was written,) and took much from these, still was in all probability well acquainted with the parties, and may very likely have heard the thing mentioned by Monk himself, whom he attended in the latter part of his life. But, after all, what are Mr. Hallam's reasons for depending upon Clarendon? Merely that

parties of Richard Cromwell, Haslerig, and Lambert, might contend around him, without his

if there had been any favourable result from this mission he must have known it, and would have reported it. Price, however, strongly affirms that the secret was kept; and that Nicholas told Greenville "that he could give no other account than that he could give none at all," being bound by oath; (p. 729;) and that this was all Greenville told the king; while Nicholas was charged to communicate with Clarges, and to assure him that the general would declare for the parliament. Lord Clarendon, therefore, need not have known it. Secondly, if he had known it, must he have recorded it? We have already observed that he had an interest in suppressing it; but moreover the same argument would be equally good for other transactions; yet we find no mention in his History of the letter from Cologne—of Sir Stephen Fox's mission—of the letters sent to Sir John Greenville, or of various other matters of the same sort. But, lastly, Clarendon certainly *had* learnt something of it, and makes this clear, not in his history for the public, but in his private correspondence; for in Jan. 1660, he writes to Mordaunt, pointing out W. Howard, as appearing to know that Nicholas had been employed, and that Monk "was contented to hear his brother discourse of the king, and heard all he said with attention and civility." (State P. iii. 658.) Again, in March, Lord Mordaunt, in a letter to the king, says, "Monk, I am well assured, gave such assurances in Scotland, as, had we believed, would have quieted our suspicions of him." (Ibid. iii. 706.) Is it not, therefore, clear that Clarendon had a knowledge of the favourable reception of Nicholas? and is not the natural influence to be drawn rather against his than against Price's veracity? Skinner indeed tells us (p. 120) that after the failure of Sir G. Booth, and the consequent suppression of this whole intrigue, Monk "told his brother with some passion, that if ever this business were discovered

feeling it; for he was better established than any of them. As to the Presbyterians, supposing that they proved the strongest, their strength never could be such as to leave him without the certain power of making his terms with them. It was otherwise with the royalists, towards whom the chances of the future began to incline. All the other parties had been tried in government; and all, in their turns powerful and prostrate, had exposed the secret of their errors, their violence, and their weakness. Royalty alone, for twenty years past, had not been put to the proof; and it alone had still promises to make which had never been betrayed. Good was expected from it, because it was not known by any recent evil; and it was hailed again after so many troubles, like the paternal roof, which is quitted in hope, but becomes our refuge in weariness. The resto-

by him or Sir John Greenville, he would do the best he could to ruin them both;" and this,—which is corroborated by the assertion of Price, (p. 725,) that "there were suggestions of information, or rather of temptation to the general, that the good man was like to be sacrificed," though nothing could be proved against him,—appears to be the only groundwork upon which Clarendon can have built his unsupported statement. If no point of history were more "obscure" than the subject of this note, there would surely be no great cause to complain.

ration of the Stuarts was thus the expectation and desire of that numerous and nameless population, which, save in a few moments of excitement, generally longs for political peace, in order to devote itself, without disturbance, to the business of civil life. The desires of the multitude are rarely restrained by foresight; and if, when they took the royal cause in hand, the Presbyterians wished to provide that it should not triumph without conditions and securities, there was reason to suppose that their intentions would be deceived, and that, when they had set the door open for the king, the people, having no more to do than to choose between him and them, would not leave them an opportunity for making use of their victory.

Monk must have believed that such would be the course of events, and have rejoiced at it. Little impressed with the rights or exigencies of liberty, and much disgusted with the inconveniences of anarchy, he looked but little at the nature of power, so long as he either exercised or acknowledged it. He thought a country sufficiently happy when it was tranquil and controlled; and knew well, with regard to his own interest, that on the power of the master depends the fortune of his servants. He had the means of becoming the

most useful and best requited servant of Charles Stuart; and it therefore suited him to treat singly and directly with the king, with the sole purpose of settling satisfactorily his own personal position, and leaving others to contend for the interests of the country. In secret, his sagacity had at all times led him to spare the royalists, and, from the moment that they could apply to him with a hope of success, they must have met with a willing reception. Monk never treated frankly but with them; and throughout his progress towards the Restoration, one single sentiment is conspicuous and predominant, namely, the desire to withdraw it from every influence but his own, that he might be enabled to commit it wholly and freely to the prince from whom he was to receive its value.

But, in the actual state of affairs, the assistance of the Presbyterians was the most useful of which the wary general could avail himself: and therefore, in admitting the confidences of his brother, he appeared to be specially swayed by the Presbyterian character of Booth's rising, and by the certainty of co-operation from Fairfax. When his decision was once made, he began by appearing irresolute within his own circle. While he promised in one direction, in another he was ob-

served, after his own manner, to point out difficulties, without expressing his opinion as to the method of surmounting them. He confided to each what each was to know or to believe of his intentions; required solicitation for what he had already resolved to undertake; examined the condition of his chests; and, finally, charged his emissaries to sound the temper of his troops, and to learn how far they could be inflamed against a government imposed by the English army. The soldiers were found to be not so much irritated, as uncertain of their position; and to reckon solely on their general. "Why will not old George do something?" they exclaimed, "it is not in our power."* But at the thought of putting themselves in motion under his orders, they exhibited joy and a readiness to follow him; "For," said they, "we may march safely behind George Monk."

Once assured of his means, Monk thought that no more time was to be lost. Sir George Booth, at the head of the county of Chester, was on the point of a conflict with the parliamentary army under the orders of Lambert; the other counties were about to rise, and it was not expedient to be the last in making a demonstration. It was

* Gumble, 107.

Saturday evening. The night was employed in drawing up a letter* to the parliament, wherein, with all the forms of respect and even of praise, the army declared against the perpetuation of power which it seemed desirous to usurp; being unable in conscience, as they said, to consent that so much blood should have been spilt, in order to fix the sovereignty in the hands of a few individuals. They required, therefore, that the parliament, in conformity with its promises, should proceed to complete itself, and to regulate the mode of electing and assembling the parliaments destined to succeed it; and lastly, they announced their resolution to support this demand by force of arms. This letter was to be presented on the Monday for the signature of the principal officers; and at the same time the castle of Edinburgh and the citadel of Leith were to be secured. All was ready on Sunday evening. At one in the morning, Monk, still in the room where the oaths of secrecy† had been taken and the last meetings

* This declaration was drawn up jointly by Price and Gumble, Mas. Sel. Tr. p. 718; Skinner, 109; and it appears to have been the occasion of Monk's first confidence in the latter.

† Price (p. 718) gives the oath, together with the rest of these details.

held, gives his directions to Adjutant Smith, to set out as bearer of his orders to the commandants of Leith and of Edinburgh castle, of whom he was secure; and he then descends to give audience to other agents already in motion from all quarters. But the next moment he returns: "Smith," says he, "will not set out yet; Booth and Lambert are on the brink of an engagement; to-morrow is the post-day; we shall know how things stand, what is Booth's force, and how far we may hope to secure his success by our help. The delay of one day cannot do much harm. We will wait." These words fell like a shower of ice among men already intoxicated with hopes and on the point of commencing operations; but submission was necessary, and so likewise was silence. The general, however, having a second time left the room, Price, the most impatient of them, followed, and attempted to alter his resolution. He found him in conversation with a Scotchman of Montrose's party,* and did not thence augur ill for the success of his proposed attempt. Monk

* By this little incident it would appear that Monk was a sportsman, for the individual was one "Graden Kerr, an honest Montrosian and a good greyhound master; the latter of which qualities had before recommended him to the general's friendship." Mas. Sel. Tr. p. 720.

came towards him; but scarcely had Price opened his mouth when his patron, who was provoked only with endeavours to hurry him on faster than he intended, exclaimed with anger,* "Would you have me ruin all then, and bring my neck to the block, for love of the king?"—"Sir, I have never named the king to you, either now or at any other time," answered the chaplain in a submissive tone. "Well, I know you have not; but I know you, and have understood your meaning;" and this was the old general's first declaration to Price. At six the next morning, the post brought news of the utter defeat of Sir George Booth; and the conspirators shuddered at the danger they had escaped.† "What would have become of us," Price once asked of Monk, "if the tidings of Booth's defeat had arrived a day too late?"—"I doubt not but I should have secured to myself the castle of Edinburgh and citadel of Leith," replied the general; "some officers and many soldiers would have followed me; and then I

*"The general (I can never forget his posture of answering me) laid his hands on my shoulders, frowned and paused, and then in some anger spoke thus, Graden Kerr being at a good distance," &c. Mas. Sel. Tr. 720.

† Monk burnt all the papers; but Gumble (p. 109) says he had "reason to believe he was betrayed in this affair."

would have commissioned the whole Scottish nation to rise."* Slow to engage in risks, he entered upon them only when he had determined to brave everything.

Hardly were the tidings of Lambert's victory made public, when numbers flocked from all sides to Dalkeith; and at dinner the general's table became crowded with Independent officers, whose spirits and imagination were exalted by this triumph over their chief enemies, the Presbyterians. The general humoured them with a good grace; and was the more open, in proportion as he had more to conceal. When some one spoke of the design to restore Charles Stuart as being certainly that of the insurgents, "My opinion is," said Monk, without looking at his chaplain, "that the parliament should make a law, that whoever should but mention the restoring of him should presently be hanged." They grew warm; and one Captain Poole declared, "that there could never be a quiet and lasting settlement in these nations so long as there was a parish-priest or a steeple-house left." At these words, the old general rose from his chair, and in a tone which they were not used to hear, exclaimed, "Fair

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 722.

and softly, Captain Poole; if you and your party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you."* All subsided into a respectful silence; and whatever distrust they might entertain of the general's intentions, they perceived at least that he did not consider himself vanquished.

His position might, however, become dangerous. In spite of the pretexts with which Nicholas Monk had taken care to mask his visit, it had excited suspicion; and the good clergyman, assailed by the curious of all parties, had not been adroit enough to extricate himself from their clutches. Monk, informed of certain indiscretions, reproached his brother with them; exacted a fresh oath that he would communicate to no one, not even to Sir John Greenville, what had passed between them; adding, with undisguised anger, that if a single word transpired by either one or the other, he would do his best to ruin them. Then advising his brother to meddle no more with such intrigues, which were little suited to his condition, he appeared himself so disgusted with the whole business, that Nicholas, on his return, assured Sir John Greenville of

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 722.

the hopelessness, for the time at least, of attempting anything.*

In truth, Monk appears for a moment to have thought the game lost beyond redemption; and whether to remove all suspicion on the part of the parliament, or whether, as may be more probable, yielding to his natural inclination towards the safest course, he wished really to retire, he resolved, against the advice of all his friends, to offer his resignation; and on the 3rd of September he wrote to the parliament, that feeling the approach of the infirmities of age, he desired to be relieved from all employment, in order quietly to close his days in his own home. He took care not to transmit his letter through his brother-in-law Clarges, a physician by profession, but lately appointed commissary for the Scotch and Irish armies, and almost always charged with the general's secret business in London,—a trust wherein he acquitted himself with steadiness and address. Monk well knew that Clarges would disapprove of his proceeding, and much feared

* But at the same time he assured Clarges, according to his instructions, that "if the parliament would be resolute in asserting their own authority against the army, Monk would assist them in it, and if required thereunto, march into England in their defence."—Baker, 678.

his influence, which was apparently exerted through the imperious agency of Mrs. Monk. But his own brother, Nicholas Monk, apprised of the arrival of the letter, contrived to get hold of it, and consigned it to Clarges, who, in his turn, carried it to Lenthall, still speaker of the parliament.*

Two principal parties were at that time contending in Westminster; that of Lambert and the army, to which those men attached themselves, who, like Vane, thinking their position desperate, feared not to apply violent remedies; and that of the moderate of all sorts, and the blind apostles of the legitimacy of the *Rump*, who directed all their efforts against the army,

* Price (p. 711) states that "he (Monk) had been many ways disobliged," and that officers of extravagant principles had been encouraged "in open contempt of his recommendatory letters in favour of others," and that therefore, even before the arrival of Nicholas, he had often talked of living a private life in Ireland. It is impossible to decide whether or no he was sincere in the expression of this wish to Lenthall, but I think it probable. His ambition was never of a restless character; he was certainly disgusted and gloomy at this moment, and his wife besides desired it. Mas. Sel. Tr. 730; Baker, 672. The estate in Ireland was probably that said to have been granted by Cromwell (note p. 81, 91) in 1655, (Lives, Eng. and For. ii. 148; Thurloe iv. 401,) together with what he obtained there himself. See note, p. 26.

by which they perceived that it was especially threatened. Lenthall belonged to this latter party, who rested all their hopes on Monk, as the only person whom they could oppose to Lambert in their defence; and Clarges easily persuaded him to say nothing of this step of Monk's, lest the army party should hasten to make use of it, by superseding him in his command. Lenthall and his friends, in fact, evaded all the inquiries of Vane, who, having got wind of the letter, more than once demanded that it should be read; and in about ten days Clarges received the general's order to withdraw it.

Whatever were the arguments and the methods employed to obtain this resolution from Monk, as soon as he had taken the risk once more in hand, he set to work that he might be in a condition to face it. He occupied himself in sounding, more closely than he had yet done, the disposition of all the officers of his army, and established a correspondence with Fairfax, from whom he had received overtures at the time of Sir George Booth's affair. Clarges was commissioned to promise his support to the leaders in parliament against the designs of the army, whose insolence had not been long in displaying itself.

At the same time, secure emissaries, unknown to each other, apprised him of the state of things in London, and of the progress of misunderstanding between the two parties. Anonymous letters, or some signed with assumed names, were sent to embitter animosities or to thwart schemes, by revealing in one quarter what he had learnt of the dispositions in another;* and the quarrel waxed daily warmer.

"I see now that I shall have a better game to play than I had before," said Monk; "I know Lambert so well, that I am sure he will not let those people at Westminster sit till Christmas-day."† In fact, on the 13th of October, the avenues of Westminster were occupied by troops; Lambert and his adherents constituted themselves a government under the title of a Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood figured at their head. The news arrived at Dalkeith on the 17th. All was prepared, and was set in action. After reading his

* All this he carried on mainly with the assistance of the two chaplains, Gumble and Price; but of the former especially, who kept up a constant correspondence with his old friend Scott, the Secretary of State; and made use of the information he could extract from him for Monk's purposes. Mas. Sel. Tr. p. 725.

† Mas. Sel. Tr. p. 726.

despatches, Monk declared to those of his officers who were near him, his resolution to support the parliament;—caused the post* to be detained;—assembled immediately at Dalkeith the officers of the garrisons of Edinburgh and Leith;—and, secure of their adhesion, marched next day on Edinburgh at the head of his guards.† Two regiments were quartered in the city: he cashiered the officers whom he knew to be adverse to his designs,—placed those under arrest in whom he had least confidence; and having assembled the troops, explained to them in a firm and energetic tone the reasons for his determination: "The army in England," said he, "has broken up the parliament. Incapable of rest, it is determined to invade all authority, and will not suffer the nation to arrive at a lasting settlement. Its

* That to London; and Gumble says that he had constantly examined it for three or four months before. p. 132.

† Both Price and Gumble give the same account of the decisive promptitude with which Monk now entered upon his great part. On the 17th the news arrived; that evening he gave his orders, and the next day marched. Gumble 133; Mas. Sel. Tr. 730. A course which, while it practically secured his position, must have infused spirit and confidence among his friends; and which is scarcely the conduct of one who had no clear view of the object before him, and who suffered himself to be blindly driven he knew not where by popular impulse.

insolent extravagance will presently rise so as to grasp at the command of the army in Scotland, which is neither subordinate nor inferior. For my own part, I think it the duty of my place to keep the military power in obedience to the civil. It is the duty of us all to defend the parliament from which you receive your pay and commissions. I rely therefore on your obedience. If, however, any one of you dissents from this resolution, he shall have full liberty to quit the service, and receive his pass."*

This speech was ratified by the liveliest acclamations of the soldiers, which were swelled by those of the Scotch, who rejoiced in the hope of liberty disclosed by the dissension of their rulers. At night, Captain Johnson marched with a detachment of cavalry to aid the governor of Berwick, who was known to be steady, in displacing the officers of the garrison, all Anabaptists and Independents. They were arrested and superseded. Just as Johnson had completed this operation, Colonel Cobbett, who came to secure the place, entered the town. He was arrested and conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh. The same step had been taken at Ayr and St. Johnstone, but more easily, because the refractory were less

* Baker's Chron. 682; Skinner, 130.

numerous in those places. Newcastle was lost; for Colonel Lilburne, being at York, had seized it in the name of the committee of safety. In the remote garrisons, the commanders of Monk's party were instructed to execute the above operation immediately. Those who were suspected received, before they could be warned, an order to attend the general in order to consult upon important business; and they had no sooner left their fortresses than they were seized by agents posted in their route, and forthwith conveyed to prison in Edinburgh. At the same time Monk wrote to the speaker, Lenthall, to Fleetwood, and to Lambert, announcing the resolution taken by the army of Scotland to protect against violence the laws and liberties of England. Several officers had required that before they drew their swords, and prepared to spill the blood of their brethren in England, an attempt at least should be made to reclaim them by some admonition. Monk was not in a condition to refuse a demand of this nature, and moreover little feared the loss of time, which he was sure of employing better than his adversaries.

He had no desire or intention whatever to come to blows with the English army. He had witnessed civil war; he knew its risks; and no man

avoided risks with so much care, up to the moment when he perceived that the safest course was to encounter them. With the habits and profession of a soldier, he was a statesman, and loved peace. Among the predictions which had long since selected him as the restorer of the monarchy, he used to recount that of an old Earl of Nithsdale, who came to visit him, and to announce that the king would be restored within a few months; that he, Monk, would be the chief instrument of that revolution, and that there should not be the blood of a cut finger in the action. "In that case," added he merrily, "I am assured of my share in it."* Besides this, although he thought lightly of Lambert's military talents, he was not in a condition to fight him on an equality. On the standard which he had just raised, were inscribed the two principles to which he had taken care to give a distinct expression, suited to serve him as an answer on all occasions, and against arguments of all sorts. "The government cannot stand without the entire subjection of the military to the civil power." "The commonwealth must be administered by parliament."† These were the two civil truths which he under-

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 727. † Skinner, 125.

took to assert, by the assistance of an army of which he had made himself master only by removing from its ranks every one who was disposed to act upon his own opinion, and by rendering purely military both its spirit and its interest.

It was easy to foresee that such soldiers would agree better with other soldiers than with a parliament; and it could scarce be doubted, that in presence of Lambert's army at least half of Monk's would cross to that side on which it would recognise its own cause. On this account he had resolved to keep them always at a distance, and to leave that to time which it must necessarily accomplish. From good intelligence of what was passing among his enemies, he knew that Lambert's army, without discipline or money, though much more numerous than his own, would be soon forced to disband. The parliament no sooner perceived its fall to be inevitable, than it made an effort at least to deprive its oppressors of the power to profit by this event, and its last sign of life had been a prohibition to pay taxes, the dismissal of the military authorities then in power, and the appointment of seven commissioners,*

* The seven were Fleetwood, Monk, Haslerig, Ludlow, Morley, Walton, and Overton; of whom Ludlow was in Ire-

charged with the government of the army, among whom care was taken to include Monk, the true friend of the parliament, according to the assurances of Scott, who was one of the most zealous members of the republican party, and completely duped by the chaplain Gumble, with whom he kept up an old connexion. Of these two votes, the first, willingly sanctioned by the English people, drove Lambert, for the subsistence of his troops, to violent resources, the season for which, in any case, had now passed away; the second gave an appearance of legality to the arbitrary power exerted by Monk in the disposal of military commissions, which, in the part he had chosen, it was important that he should retain. As for the pay and subsistence of his army, although for some time he had received no money from England, Monk had, by his provident economy, secured resources for a long while. The state of his chest allowed him even to order the payment of arrears due to the officers whom he deprived of their commissions; but since their discontent was so imprudent as to break out

land, while Monk was in Scotland; and of the remaining five, Haslerig, Ludlow, Morley, and Walton, belonged to the parliamentary party, and would, as it hoped, assert its cause in the commission. Clar. B. xvi. Skinner, 123.

in words and in schemes to debauch the soldiers, before they had pocketed their money, it was thought just and expedient to dismiss them without their pay; and, banished Scotland on pain of death, they, for the most part, went to augment the forces, and at the same time the difficulties, of Lambert.

In spite of so much purging, and of the material means which he had at his command, Monk felt conscious that his regular authority was no longer sufficient to lead an army whose opinions he had been obliged to consult. It became a party; and it was necessary to give it a corresponding excitement and interest. All the officers were assembled under the presidency of the general, in a great council, wherein were discussed the concerns of the cause. There did Monk, patient and imperturbable, allow full license to the pretensions of subaltern wit,—to the coarse suspicions of ignorance,—to the desultory eloquence of the military upstart,—of the late serjeant, but new-made ensign, eager to assert his rank. Everything obtained a hearing, and was disposed of by the skill of some confidant, whose logic easily confuted his awkward antagonists. Monk spoke but little, save when it was requi-

site to give the sanction of his assent to the opinion which he approved; and he governed, with scarce a show of interference, the resolutions of an assembly designed to serve as his instrument. At the same time, intelligent non-commissioned officers, carefully instructed on each occasion in the ideas which were to be diffused or demolished, the inclinations to be probed, and the passions to be inflamed, set themselves to gain the confidence of the soldiers; and, animated by promises of promotion, zealously abetted the plans of their general. A gazette every week, and occasionally flying tracts, artfully drawn up, were circulated, read, and discussed in their social meetings. On all sides that activity of mind, that importance of individual opinion, began to show itself, which is so alarming to power without capacity, but which is mighty, however inconvenient, in hands able to direct it. One regiment, abandoned by its officers, threatened to desert, if it were not allowed to choose those who were to replace them. In the first instance, means were found to limit the claims of the soldiers to the choice of their serjeants and corporals, and then to prevent their agreement, and oblige them to resort to the wisdom

of their superiors. The whole of this interior and hidden management had for its agents a certain number of officers, devoted to Monk, and admitted to his plans.* At the head of all intrigue, and of the internal affairs of the party, was the chaplain Gumble;—ever busy,—full of persuasion and contrivance, and almost the only visible manager. "George Monk would not have stirred without that man," angrily remarked the agents of the opposite party.† To these secret practices were added public declarations. The letters to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall, were printed and distributed at Edinburgh, as well as a declaration of the great council of officers, "That they had taken up arms to defend the freedom and privilege of parliaments, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the people against all opposition whatever." But it was thought better to print

* These consisted of a certain number of the "eminentest colonels in the army," with a few others, and formed a kind of privy council to the general, under the name of a committee, while the other was in the nature of a general council. —Gumble, 140, 141.

† Mas. Sel. Tr. 725. And Skinner says (p. 134) that Monk was well content with this notion, which served to divert suspicion.

in London alone a declaration to the independent churches, to which some officers of the army belonged, for the purpose of satisfying them as to liberty of conscience. Monk had now finally assumed the presbyterian character. There is reason to believe, in spite of what his chaplain Gumble says of his prayers and fasting, that he wore it somewhat lightly;* but it was by avoiding

* Price seems to have been of the same opinion, if we are to judge by the strange expression of which he makes use,—that "it was now high time for the general to look out for a religion for himself;" and by his remark immediately following it, that "the general's lady found him one." Mas Sel. Tr. 723. Whatever other mysteries may hang about the character of Monk, we can scarcely doubt that there was little after all to fathom in this respect. His religion sat lightly upon him; and although he was no scoffer or infidel from inclination any more than from interest, his creed was clearly of that pliable description which easily adjusts itself to worldly emergencies. In this respect he exercised, within certain limits, that same power of profound dissimulation which he displayed in his political concerns. It had been his object to appear as a presbyterian; and he did it so successfully, that he was very generally supposed to have abandoned himself to the presbyterian ministers, through the influence of his wife; so that we find Broderick, one of the royalist agents, writing thus to Hyde, in December 1659—"A sober man he is, ambitious of a good fame as much as great, though I doubt too much of a bigot in presbytery." Clar. St. P. iii. 632. Price says, that in March 1660, "he was their zealous votary," and that Dr. Calamy so far pre-

offence towards each of the parties with which he had to deal, that Monk escaped the necessity

vailed with him that none were to preach before him, but such only as he recommended." Mas. Sel. Tr. 777. Yet in February, Price, alarmed for episcopacy, had satisfied himself that he was not so irretrievably lost to that persuasion, by sounding him upon the subject. He chose a curious opportunity for this purpose, according to our notions. "I came into his chamber," he says, "and understood he was in bed; so I was about to retire, but, his lady entertaining me with discourse, he perceived that I was in the chamber, and so commanded me to his bed-side, where I found him satisfied with what he had done, and pleasant with me. I told him I came (over and above the duty of my attendance) to give him thanks for his day's work. He answered me, (with great courtesy of words,) "No, no; this is none of your business; you but dissemble with me; you come now for somewhat else, and I believe I know for what." I humbly asked him, what he could think I came for? "Sit down then, (says he,) and I will tell you. You come for bishops." He spake it not so softly but that his lady overheard it, and mistook it as my proposal; at which she was angry. But the curtain and the general's favour screened me; he assuring her that I had not spoken to him of bishops. So she went off; but he detained me with this serious discourse upon the thing, "That he thought this could never be done; for not only their lands are sold, (says he,) but the temper of the nation is against them." I told him that as yet he could not see the temper of the nation, the royal party having judged it prudence not to appear openly, or make any addresses. But since he had mentioned it, I entreated him to grant me one request, which was, that he would not be drawn to engage against them; and this I thought he might safely grant me,

of acting too decidedly in favour of any one among them.

The arrival of these papers in London had excited a lively sensation of joy and hope in the public mind, and profound consternation among the officers in power. They had hastened, from the first, to invite Monk to share the spoil; but in truth they appeared afterwards to forget him in the distribution of the prizes; and, no doubt foreseeing his resentment, or afraid of his pretensions, they were anxious to place themselves

now, who would not be ensnared to abjure the king and the royal family. He paused a while, (as his manner was,) and taking me by the hand, "Well, then, (said he,) so much I will promise you, that I will not be engaged against bishops." I thanked him, and kissed his hand; adding, that it was best to leave it to God's providence and the next parliament, when we should be able to discern the temper of the nation, in reference both to church and state." Mas. Sel. Tr. 774. If he had any very strong feeling on religious subjects, it was a hatred of fanaticism. "He himself," in the words of Clarendon, "had no fumes of fanaticism to turn his head, nor any credit with or dependence upon any who were swayed by those trances," (vii. 383.) He never would adopt their extravagances, even when they opened the way to power; he was the first to denounce them publicly by their true name; and he lost no opportunity of removing them from his service; thereby performing, in his own case, what he recommended to Richard Cromwell, when he advised him to rid himself of those "insolent spirits." Thurloe, vii. 387. Yet even this was more of a political than a religious aversion.

in a condition to defy him. In their imprudence and thoughtlessness, they had never questioned but that the entire Scottish army would adhere to their government; and Colonel Cobbett, so opportunely arrested at Berwick, was on his way with instructions to secure the fidelity of the troops, and, if necessary, the person of the general. There is even a story that one post-day a soldier of Monk's guards, walking on the Edinburgh road, met the mail-carrier, who, instead of proceeding first to Dalkeith, as he was accustomed to do, took the direct route to the city. Struck with this want of respect, the soldier led him, in spite of his resistance, to the general, who at once took possession of all the letters, and found among them an order for his arrest, directed by the committee of safety to an officer of his army, who was immediately to assume the command in his place.* But this fact, which is plainly impossible, if all its circumstances are considered, is moreover mentioned by none of Monk's biographers, and appears to be one of those dramatic scenes with which the imagination of man loves to decorate great events.

Meantime, whatever were the intentions of

* Lives, English and Foreign, ii. 160.

Lambert and his friends with regard to Monk, their fears had been directed more against his rivalry than his patriotism; and they quickly perceived the discredit with which the cause embraced by him must brand their own. They had, besides, learnt, at the same time with his decision, the steps already taken to support it; and the officer charged with Monk's despatches, while he betrayed what he knew or suspected of the secrets of his general, had only aggravated their alarms. Undeceived as to the vain notion of their power over the army of Scotland, they suddenly discerned a force prepared to attack them, before they had even entertained a suspicion of its existence. They resolved to attempt a reconciliation, if it were only to gain time for setting themselves in a posture of defence; and while Lambert, appointed general of the northern army, was marching at its head towards Newcastle, Dr. Clarges, and Talbot, one of the colonels of Monk's army, who was at the moment in London, were despatched to explain what they called the misunderstanding, and to propose negociations.*

* Clarges says of himself, that "he was very glad of this opportunity to get away, for he feared to be much worse

Nothing could better suit the designs of Monk. He had failed in his endeavours to gain the army

treated." Baker, 681. According to his own account, Monk confided to him, upon this occasion, quite enough to show that he had his plans pretty well matured, and that he could not have been otherwise than aware of their tendency. Clarges says, in Baker's Chron. (p. 684) speaking in the third person of himself, "they were both very well received by Monk, but especially Clarges, with whom he had that night much conference in private.... Clarges frankly asked him what was the true end he aimed at in this enterprise; telling him that it was impossible for him ever to be trusted after this rupture, if he patched up a peace with the English army, and withal acquainting him that he observed a great consternation in the officers and soldiers as he passed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him. The general (as the most reserved man then living) was in some trouble to be pressed to discover his intentions, and at that time opened himself no farther than to let him know he was resolved to endeavour to free his native country from the slavery it was under; and to effect it, he thought one of the best expedients would be to restore the parliament; but in their admission to sit (if it were by his arms) he would make no difference betwixt them; but let in as well the secluded members as others. Having said this, he conjured Clarges to secrecy, being very sensible that the jealousy had on him by the army was so great, (it having been often cast in his dish by some of his ill-willers that the king was in the bottom of his designs,) that all he could contrive would be little enough to beget a confidence, even in his own party, to engage with him." The passage bears no appearance of a fiction; and if Clarges had invented all this, he would, it may be presumed, have invented something more, and have pretended to more explicit

of Ireland, and had reason to fear that it might declare against him if swords were drawn.* His attempts had not been more successful in the fleet; and Overton, governor of Hull, as well as some other commanders of fortresses in England, whose republican opinions appeared likely to incline them to his side, feeling doubtful of his intentions, had answered his overtures only by offering their intercession to obtain his reconciliation with the committee of safety. Monk, thus reduced to his own resources, nevertheless abjured all thought of further hesitation. When he was once engaged in an undertaking, a singular sagacity in discerning the true state of affairs preserved him from all uncertainty as to his immediate course. Seldom occupied with anything

information, both to exalt Monk's merit and his own; but if it is true, who can suppose that Monk said all this, and yet had formed no estimate of the future; that he was the mere sport of the popular gale, driven to the Restoration because he could not help it?

* Price says, (p. 735,) that "from the governing officers there, he was answered with a resolution to *declare against him*, in case he advanced any further." One of the last acts of the Rump had been to recal Henry Cromwell from the government of Ireland, and to place it in the hands of a commission of officers; Ludlow being commander of the forces.

but the accomplishment of that which was required by his actual situation, he took a comprehensive view of it, and suffered nothing to escape him which might endanger the future. He was one of those practical men with whom reflection does not precede experience, but whom experience enlightens by degrees; and whose understanding, insensible to any truth which is not presented to them in a tangible form, yet seizes it so soon as in their eyes it assumes a place in the business of life. Monk, perhaps unequal to a complete preconception even of himself, was never wanting to the occasion; the entire scope of a great plan may never have presented itself to his mind, which was rather shrewd than capacious, and rather firm than enterprising; his sedate character was little open to the temptations of a bold undertaking, but boldness, when the emergency required it, was as easy to him as discretion; and when, as in proceeding step by step, ever sure of his footing, he reached one of those dangerous points wherein a great resolution is necessary at once to surmount great obstacles, his good sense, quick and confident, advanced straight towards the difficulty, however gigantic it might be; and the most daring course became, with him,

the simplest, so soon as it was the most expedient.*

* I cannot believe, that amid all this deliberate energy Monk had not well considered his course, and had not a clear view of his objects and his difficulties. He knew Lambert thoroughly, and could have been at no loss as to the characters and intentions either of Lambert's colleagues or of the Rump. He had, we are assured by both Gumble and Price, watched the temper of the country, maintained a vigilant inspection of the post, and observed his army; and when the moment arrived for action, (which, by the way, we have already seen that he predicted,) it is clear that nothing more than the mere distribution of his orders was required, since four-and-twenty hours so occupied brought him actually into the field. It is easy for us, looking back from our present position, with a knowledge of the result, and of the chain of events which led to it, to pronounce that he chose the true course for his own interest and for the royal cause; but, at the time, the question must have been as critical to decide, as the decision itself was hazardous to execute. He had several courses at his option, but the difficulties of all could only serve farther to complicate the problem. He might have remained where he was, inactive, which would clearly have been the easiest policy, and would probably have been that of an irresolute or feeble mind. He must then have submitted, and been ultimately either despised or dispossessed. He might have postponed operations to remonstrance; but the opportunity would then have passed away, and the antagonist powers would have been able to assert an authority which he did not at once defy. He might have taken his stand and raised the Scottish nation; but he must then have prepared for a civil war, with allies whom it would have been difficult to unite or control, and with an army

At this period, his situation required him at the same time to act and to temporise. He lis-

whose jealousy of those allies would have been as unmanageable as its distrust of his own objects. Again, he might have declared openly for the Restoration; but the difficulties here would have been the same, though upon a greater scale, —a general civil war, and a dependence upon two parties not yet heartily united, and but imperfectly organised; while he knew too well the temper of his troops, not to be quite sure that at the bare whisper of such a purpose they would leave him, and, in spite of all affection and authority, transfer to his enemies their allegiance and their arms. Lastly, he might support the parliament. The usurpation of the Rump was odious and contemptible to him as well as others, yet he must then risk a conflict in its cause with Lambert and an army which was more than a match for his; and when he had succeeded in recalling it, he might have to bow to its authority, or, like Lambert himself, once more to displace it. He saw, however, that in the mean time such a course ensured to him the great advantage of an excuse for constitutional professions, together with the sympathy of those great parties who would consider it as an advance towards consummations more remote, and offered to his army the appearance of a legal cause, and the prospect of a recompense; and that when the time came for a struggle with that body, it had, by means of its own usurpations, furnished him (who in this case again cannot fail to have contemplated a Restoration) with weapons against itself, far more efficacious than military violence. If he could attain that point, therefore, he had a comparatively plain course before him; but in the mean time he might have to encounter the risks of doubtful fidelity, of an unequal conflict, and of zealous indiscretion; and he had, moreover, to choose his opportunity, and to

tened to the envoys of the committee; and Talbot wrought no change in his designs, while Clarges

improve it as he could, according to the temper of those whom he had to lead. But, in spite of all these difficulties, the occasion found him prepared, and there seems to have been no interval of wavering. Clarges assures us, that in November Monk avowed to him his objects; and in the middle of December, Broderick, writing to Hyde, while he reports that "his pretensions are dark, his discourses ambiguous," adds, "he complains thus: 'I, of all Englishmen employed by the commonwealth, shall prove most fortunate or unfortunate. Richard Cromwell forsook himself, else I had never failed my promise to his father, or regard to his memory. Fleetwood's folly, Lambert's treachery and ambition, are neither of them to be endured; the disunion of what they scornfully call the Rump not to be depended on. I therefore have adventured to stand alone in the gap. The Scots I dare not trust in any measure, were I not enforced by necessity. Counsellors I have none to rely on; many of my officers have been false, and that all the rest will prove true is too much gaiety to hope. But religion, law, liberty, and my own fame, are at stake. I will go on, and leave the event to God.'" Clar. St. P. iii. 628. I am inclined to think this passage of his life has not been sufficiently considered, and is alone sufficient to prove that he possessed those qualities which distinguish great commanders in a higher degree than is usually allowed by any but his mere flatterers. Few men would have been capable of braving and surmounting his first difficulties. Of his own rivals, Fleetwood would have been too irresolute, Lambert too precipitate; and either fault must have been fatal. We find him taking up his position in face of a superior force, arrayed under an active and noted commander whose friends were in pre-

strove only to serve them. The officers, being consulted on their errand, approved of the pro-

sent possession of the executive power,—daily greeted with tidings of important defections among his own few troops, and of plots among their officers,—disappointed and discouraged in his applications to several important garrisons, and to the fleet, where he had reason to hope his name would have some influence,—and threatened with direct hostility from Ireland;—in all quarters he found himself unexpectedly repelled: it is no wonder, that at this moment those whose hopes hung upon his path, watched every step with anxious alarm, and almost despaired, like Clarendon, of his success; (Letter in App. Vit. Barw. p. 378;) and yet in his conduct there appears no misgiving on the one hand, nor hasty temerity on the other. His conduct is marked by sagacity in foreseeing the crisis; by vigilance in preparing for it; by activity in organisation; by promptitude in deciding; by energy in acting; by patience in humouring his followers; by dexterity in leading them; by perseverance against all obstacles, with a steady confidence in himself; and lastly, by a calm intrepidity, which, though at all times one of his characteristics, was never more remarkable than at this juncture. But we must likewise add to this, that he had not omitted another duty of a great general, the providing against reverses; for we have already seen, that if he had been caught in Sir George Booth's disaster, he had his resource prepared; and we shall find him later equally armed against the contingency of Lambert's success against Ingoldsby. Such a list of qualities so developed are surely no mean constituents of true eminence. His ambition was sluggish; his career less dazzling than Cromwell's; his social character (if one may so speak) unattractive; his vices unadorned: but it is difficult to deny that he had great

posal to appoint three commissioners to treat with their brethren in London. The choice was entrusted to the general, who appointed two,* and left the election of the third to the officers. They named Colonel Wilks, a doubtful agent, and whose fidelity was, perhaps, the more shaken, by his discontent at not having been chosen first. The negociators set out in the beginning of November, furnished with public instructions from the council, and with secret ones from the general. The chief of these was to gain time,—to close only at the last extremity,—and only on the condition of the restoration of the old parliament. If they could not obtain this, they were, at least, to require that a new one, freely chosen, should be forthwith summoned. But since the officers in London would necessarily prefer the convocation of a new parliament to the return of that which they had expelled, the commissioners were ordered to leave them in ignorance of their power to consent to it, up to the moment when a

capacities, and was born with the genuine attributes of high command.

* Colonels Knight and Clobery. Gumble (p. 144) says "one other" (meaning himself) "was named, but he could not be spared."

farther resistance might endanger the popularity of their mission. Lastly, they were instructed to find out what assistance might be expected from the feeling of the city, which had already declared for Monk's designs, and to regulate their conduct accordingly.

While Monk's envoys were on their way to London, and Lambert was marching upon Newcastle, other negociations and intrigues were in progress. Fleetwood, already alarmed by the ambition of Lambert, sought to secure himself a private resource in Monk, and sent Dean, one of the treasurers of the army, to him, on his own account. But at the same time he declared to the common council of the city, that Monk's intention was to restore the king by force of arms; and Dean, who was less occupied in gaining over the general than in debauching his army, discoursed openly, even at Monk's table, of the royalist projects which he imputed to him; and endeavoured, by his conversation, and by tracts liberally disseminated, to seduce or to frighten the soldiers. "My Lord Lambert," said he, "is coming upon you; and all Monk's army will not be enough for a breakfast for him."—

"Lambert must have a very good stomach this cold weather," replied a soldier, "if he can eat pikes and swallow bullets."*

Lambert strove, like Fleetwood, and by the same means, to make a separate arrangement for himself. He wished to persuade the commissioners from Monk, who were obliged to traverse his army, that he had power to treat with them; but as they persisted in repairing to London unless Lambert would consent to the recal of the parliament, he allowed them to pursue their journey, after having agreed with them for a suspension of hostilities during the whole continuance of negociations; and he entrusted his private interests to Morgan, a major-general in Monk's army, whom he had found at York, where Morgan, detained by the consequences of a violent fit of gout, and in the midst of Lambert's forces, was uttering vehement declarations against the designs of his chief. Morgan, as soon as his health permitted it, set out for Edinburgh; instructed, like the rest, to try his influence over the general, but still more, to employ his credit with the army in opposition to him. On the other hand, certain independent congregations, moved by the declara-

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 737.

tions of Monk, and by the pains he had taken to satisfy them, thought they were bound to offer him their thanks; though others, more discerning, or more suspicious, distrusted the projects of a man so little advanced in the ways of the Lord. Three ministers and two colonels arrived in their name at Edinburgh;—the men of peace to talk of a settlement,—the colonels to tamper with the soldiers, and to entice them to the army of Lambert. At the same time, Fairfax had it conveyed to Monk that he and his adherents in the county of York, who had been all in readiness since the time of Sir George Booth's movement, demanded, before they would join him, that in place of proclaiming himself the protector of the mere ghost of a parliament, he should declare for the readmission of the members excluded by Cromwell and the army, or for the calling of a new one. This latter proposition made peace, in Monk's opinion, far too easy; and the other could not yet be even hinted to his troops without danger. The envoy from Fairfax was made to understand the necessity for farther patience; the ministers and colonels were dismissed after a few sharp words and many pacific demonstrations; and Morgan, as soon as he found himself out of Lambert's

reach, became, in military matters, the most important agent for the designs of Monk, by whom he was trusted with entire confidence.*

Still all this stir of intrigue and seduction was not wholly without result. A certain uneasiness as to ulterior projects began to take possession of those, both within and without the army, who, either from interest or opinion, had a keen dread of the return of the Stuarts; and of those timid characters who are alarmed at every idea of change. In the same proportion rose the hopes of the royalist party. The confidants of Monk were beset with inquiries; and he had to defend himself from the indiscreet advances of the cavaliers, from the jealous inspection of their enemies, and from the imprudence of his own household.

* "Morgan," says Clarges, (in Baker's Chron. p. 685,) "at his first coming to the general, asked him aloud merrily, 'If he would lay down his arms and be friends with Fleetwood and Lambert?' To which he was answered by him, 'If they would restore the parliament he had little more to say; and if he pleased he might let them know as much.' Morgan replied, 'I promised to ask you the question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it. I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your fortunes in all your undertakings. You know I am no statesman: I am sure you are a lover of your country; and therefore I will join with you in all your actions, and submit to your prudence and judgment in the conduct of them."

" Mr. Monk," said his wife, " is a Presbyterian, and my son Kit is for the Long Parliament and the Good Old Cause;"* and the chaplain Price, amid this license of insults to which the cause of his affection was abandoned, could not always restrain an emotion of royalist resentment. " I can be undone by none," Monk one day said to him, " but you and my wife."† Several of those who had at first served him with the most zeal, and had obtained their reward, hastened to desert him. His cavalry, already far from numerous, left him almost wholly; but the infantry displayed only more firm attachment; and Monk, after this movement of desertion, thought he could rely on what remained.

A month had elapsed in preparations, when he judged that the time was come to take the field, and to support his declarations by some unequivocal operation. As early as the first days of November, he had convened the chiefs of the Scottish nobility and the representatives of burghs and counties, at Edinburgh; had informed them of his design to march into England for the defence of law and liberty; and had asked them to assist his purpose, first by maintaining the

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 723. † Ibid. 736.

tranquillity of the country, while he was occupied elsewhere; and, secondly, by supplying the arrear of assessment necessary for the payment of his troops. The Scots, deprived of their arms, could do little for public order; but they promised money, and they kept their word. For other concerns which might need discussion, they required of Monk a second conference, which he fixed for the 13th of December, at Berwick. At length, on the 18th of November, he gave orders to march; set out himself, with his staff, in advance of his army; and moved to Haddington on the road to Berwick.

The commissioners arrived on the 21st in London. They found themselves purposely surrounded, harassed, persecuted by the caresses and advances of the officers of the army, and wholly unable to communicate with any one,—to receive a visit or message from their friends,—and almost to consult among themselves. Around them everything breathed power and confidence; from a distance nothing reached them but alarm and discouragement. The most disastrous news hourly accumulated; a body of Monk's army had deserted; then another; he must soon be left alone, and not in a condition to treat; and they

themselves would remain defenceless in the hands of their enemies. They became panic-struck. Wilks first, either deceived or corrupted, led the way; and on the evening* of the 15th was signed a treaty of nine articles, providing for the election of a new parliament, a displacement of officers in both armies, and some other similar measures; that is to say, the ruin of Monk, his party, and his plans;—and the government of London, in dread of a change of mind, or perhaps to hasten the effect of their success, sent two officers, without waiting for the departure of the commissioners, to carry the accepted articles to Monk with all speed, and to demand their ratification.

Monk was leaving the table, on the evening of the 18th of November, when the two officers arrived at Haddington, and presented him with the treaty. He read it,—gave it to be read by those who happened to be present,—and, after his usual manner, without speaking a word, immediately retired to his chamber.

The next day he returned to Edinburgh. The tidings of the treaty had preceded him. The first

* This precision of date seems to be a mistake for that of the arrival of the news. Nothing is said as to the hour at which the treaty was signed; though Skinner (p. 161) tells us the day was the 15th.

consternation had already given way to anger, and the irritation was gaining strength. The 6th article of the treaty, particularly, roused all interests against this imprudent transaction. It prescribed the appointment of fourteen officers, one half drawn from either army, who were to meet at Newcastle, there to decide upon the rights of the officers deprived of their commissions, or who had resigned them, since the 7th of October. All the promotions obtained in Monk's army, in consequence of the new-modelling, were thus called in question.* At the same time it would be compelled to renounce the hope of a return to its native country, whither it was already transported in imagination; and in lieu of an often promised share in those advantages which the English army had so long enjoyed, it must return to its exile,—to the poverty, and to the wild and dreary garrisons, of Scotland.

The council chamber was full of officers, on whose countenances agitation was depicted. Monk paced gloomily and thoughtfully among them, without addressing a word to any one. Murmurs of dissatisfaction prevailed around him; and every

* Monk, it seems, had displaced about 140, whose successors would be thus disturbed. Mas. Sel. Tr. 742.

eye rested on his motions. The chaplain Gumble enters the room; the general approaches him and asks, "How now? What say you to this agreement?"—"Truly, sir, I have not seen it; but I hear so well of it, that I am come to make a little request to you this morning."—"What is that, I wonder?"—"Even that you would sign me a pass to go into Holland; yonder is a ship at Leith that is ready to set sail."—"What! will you now leave me?"—"I know not how you may shift for yourself by your greatness, but be confident that they will never be at rest till they have torn you from your command; and what they will do with you then, it concerns you to consider: but for my part, though I am a poor man, I will never put myself into their power, for I know it will not be for my safety." The general replies hastily, "Will you lay the blame upon me? If the army will stick to me, I will stick to them." At these words a cry of adhesion arises on all sides. Protestations, and transports of joy, succeed to silence and consternation; the general's countenance resumes its serenity; and the preparations for departure are completed with activity and cheerfulness.*

* Gumble, 152.

In the first moments of their exasperation, the officers had desired that the commissioners should be disavowed as traitors; but it was thought more prudent to make use of the treaty to prolong the negociations. An answer was given, that although there was no objection to be made to any of the articles, yet, since several important ones had been omitted, the ratification was delayed till after a new conference, to which the addition of two new commissioners was required, who, together with the former, and an equal number of English commissioners, should meet at Alnwick, or in any other place beyond the power of either army, there to treat definitively of the conditions of peace. The envoys from the committee of safety set out to return with this message on the 30th ;* and Monk imposed the task of turning this affair to account upon a confidential committee, charged with his entire political correspondence, and to which he left the care of maintaining this paper war, as well as that of the proclamations, protestations, manifestoes, &c., which he wished to be able to set aside or disavow

* This seems to be an error. Skinner (p. 166) makes it the 20th; that is, the next day but one after the arrival of the news.

at will. His own commissioners returned from London, to excuse themselves as they might. Wilks, whose reasons were not found satisfactory, was arrested, but afterwards released. The refusal to ratify the treaty redoubled in London the alarms of the small number of politicians whom the officers had thought fit to join with themselves in their strange government. Too clear-sighted to allow themselves to be duped by artifices calculated for soldiers, they perceived with anxiety that they were becoming by degrees entangled in a net, which might still be easily burst through. Vainly had they urged, that from the first opportunity, setting aside all delay, and, if necessary, all hope of negociation, the army of Lambert should hasten to seize the favourable moment for victory. The obstinate faction which then ruled, having arrived at power by violent steps, thought itself privileged against all foresight; dismissed every unwelcome consideration; and slumbered in the security of its triumph, until the moment when it was to awake cheated and vanquished.*

* It appears from Skinner, (p. 170,) who is confirmed by Gough, (Londin. Triumphans, 357,) that some of the old council of state (among whom was Sir Anthony Ashley

Monk began his march towards Berwick, at the head of six good regiments of infantry, and

Cooper) met privately together in this dilemma, and sent a complimentary, but cunning letter to Monk, by a servant of Sir Arthur Hastlerig's, whereby they commissioned him as general over all the forces of England and Scotland; still, however, leaving five commissioners with him, and expunging Fleetwood and Ludlow. It is extremely difficult to account for Lambert's inactivity at Newcastle while he must have known that Monk was occupied in diligent preparation, except by supposing that he was wholly unequal to his enterprise, notwithstanding his military experience and reputation. There never was a case in which immediate action was more obviously the true policy. Price (p. 740) acknowledges that "if Lambert had not lingered so long at Newcastle, but, with his horse only, advanced directly into Scotland; beside that he could then have met with little or no resistance, he would also have confined us to very narrow quarters." This was probably the opinion he had heard Monk himself express at that time; and one should think Price might even have said more, and that such a course on the part of Lambert would have gone far to crush Monk's power at a blow. "In truth," Price adds, "as he was destitute both of money and authority, sudden action was his true interest: the general, on the other hand, had both these advantages, and only wanted power, so that *his* interest was *delay*." He concludes that it was infatuation. But it is also plain, that although this delay of Lambert's was one great element in the success of Monk, it was also in a great measure Monk's own work; and that although Lambert fell into the snare, it was Monk who dexterously spread the toils, and secured to himself the advantages, which he might very probably have missed, if he had trusted merely to the infatuation of Lambert.

four of cavalry, incomplete and ill mounted; in all 6 or 7,000 men,—well paid,—well disciplined, —inured to toil, to fatigue, and to the rigours of a Scottish climate. Lambert had at Newcastle 8 or 10,000, well mounted and equipped, but without money or discipline; accustomed to their ease, and unused to war; many of them disposed to respect the parliament, and disinclined to the cause which they would have to defend; others attached to Fleetwood's party, and far from zealous in aiding the success of Lambert. The news that Monk had refused to ratify the treaty produced so unfavourable an effect upon them, that Lambert perceived the necessity for hastening the negociations if possible; and Monk, on his arrival at Berwick on the 6th of December, found Colonel Zanchey there, who was come in the name of the general of the English army to urge the appointment of the two new commissioners, and to require that the treaty should be forthwith readopted without any addition of new articles. Zanchey, being referred to the committee of correspondence, obtained nothing from it but a positive refusal to depart from its declared resolutions; and the sneers of certain officers might give him to understand that he had few means left of

working upon persons who no longer feared him enough to take the trouble of deceiving him. In the afternoon intelligence was brought that Lambert's dragoons, impelled by the want of money, had made an incursion into Northumberland, in the hope of seizing some considerable sums belonging to Lord Grey,* the precaution of removing which, however, had been taken a few days before. On the news of this violation of the truce, Zanchey was arrested, which caused the gain of some more days still, before an answer was returned to Lambert. On the 8th of December Monk advanced farther, and established his headquarters on the banks of the Tweed, at Coldstream; a wretched abode, which appears to have startled for a moment the courage of the chaplains, but was more favourable than any other for the passage of the Tweed; and from whence Monk could in four hours, in case of alarm, assemble all his troops quartered in the neighbouring villages.†

* Of Wark. They had seized Chillingham Castle, in the hope of finding his rents there. Gumble, 161.

† Monk's energy and vigilance are strikingly displayed in this little incident. He allowed not one moment of time to be lost, and he trusted to the observations of no one, where

The critical moment was at hand. At Coldstream a decision must be made either for victory or retreat. Careful to secure support or a post of defence in his rear, Monk had not forgotten the meeting appointed with the Scots for the 13th of December. He found there a portion of the chiefs of the royalist nobility, who, full of zeal and expectation, came to ask for arms, —to offer such levies of men as the necessities of the cause might require,—and proposed, at the outset, to place 6,000 infantry and 1,500 horse under Monk's command. However useful such assist-

he had the means of making his own. "The general is on horseback," says Gumble, (p. 161,) "at two of the clock in the morning, to visit the fords down the river of Tweed; and being very dark, and the ways all ice, and up-hill and down-hill, we might well say we were set in slippery places; for it was God's infinite mercy that we had not our necks broke." ... "The general was so intent, that though we entreated his great care, yet he would keep a good pace, and by daylight he had visited all the passes upon the Tweed."..."And about eleven of the clock he took up his quarters at Coldstream." When he was there, the place was so destitute that he was obliged to stay his hunger by "falling to his good cheer, which was chewing his tobacco, (which he used to commend so much.)" The chaplains, however, were not to be so easily consoled; and they both give a quaint and amusing account of their expedition in quest of a dinner, with which they at last fell in at the Earl of Hume's; though, at their return, they found the general still "fasting devoutly."

ance might appear, it was thought still more dangerous. The admission of several of the English officers, as parties to the conferences held with the Scots, had scarcely succeeded in allaying the scornful discontent with which they saw vassals interfere in this affairs, whom they thought they were to govern by right of conquest; and the army had shown much irritation because a few Scots had been introduced to fill up the ranks. It was necessary to shun carefully all causes of distrust: arms were granted to the Scots; but Monk refused their assistance, while he reserved the power of resorting to it in case of necessity; and to compensate for this refusal, he took care to inspire them with confidence in a future which they could foresee without much difficulty.

It became hourly more necessary to Lambert and the London Government to obtain a prompt decision, which Monk and his committee strove only the more sedulously to evade. In a few days more, succours would reach Monk from all quarters; or promises, at any rate, which are perhaps of greater value against a disheartened enemy than even succours themselves. London was in a ferment. The members of the Long Parliament had regained their courage. The city, though

little disposed towards them, yet joined with them against the government of the army. Monk, apprised of its inclination, wrote to the common council that, at the earliest opportunity, he had addressed letters to them as he had to all the principal bodies in the state, to render them an account of his designs; but that these had doubtless been intercepted. He was prodigal in his assurances of devotion, while at the same time he exhorted the citizens of London to make every effort in their own power to cast off their oppressors.

Charmed with his promises, they showed a strong inclination to follow his advice. The garrisons of London and its neighbourhood, little sensible of the honours of fellowship with a power which paid them nothing, began to regret the parliamentary authority competent to vote and to insure the collection of taxes. The fleet, now better informed, declared for the parliament. His party had gained the ascendency in the army of Ireland.* Fairfax, with whom

* This was effected principally by Monk's old friend, Lord Broghill. Gumble, 182; Clarendon, vii. 477. The fleet was commanded by Lawson, who was "looked upon by all men as a great Anabaptist;" but, after the Restoration, served the king zealously, "and performed to his death all that could

Monk maintained a very active correspondence by the agency of the clergy, who transmitted the intelligence from parish to parish, promised to be ready in the beginning of January to fall on the rear of Lambert's army. Lastly, Colonel Wetham, Governor of Portsmouth, and connected with Monk by former ties, had willingly lent an ear to the persuasions of Haslerig, Morley, and Walton, who pressed him to join in the efforts which Monk was making in their favour. The garrison of Portsmouth had, in concert with them, unanimously proclaimed the parliament; and the troops sent by Fleetwood to reduce it, had only appeared under the walls of Portsmouth to range themselves on its side.

Upon these last tidings, Monk hastened to write to Lambert, assuring him of his anxiety to resume the negociations; but since Haslerig and the two other parliamentarians, then masters of Portsmouth, were among the commissioners whom the parliament had appointed before its fall to superintend the government of the army, Monk, their colleague, thought he could not treat without them, and made application to Lambert for a pass,

be expected from a brave and honest man." (Clar. Hist. vii. 432. Life, ii. 392.) He was killed in the first Dutch war.

in order that his messenger might proceed to Portsmouth to receive their instructions.

Lambert must needs have perceived that he had been duped. He flew into a passion, refused the pass, and saw that it was no longer a question of treating. But neither was he any longer in time to act. The snow, several feet deep, covered forty miles of a country broken by ravines which separated him from Monk and the Tweed, and left him without a hope of reaching his enemy before the period, now close at hand, at which his army would have exhausted its last resources. Lambert would soon not have even a cause to support. The feeble hand of Fleetwood was letting drop the reins of government; and on the 25th of December the Long Parliament, having accepted his submission and excuses,* regained possession of Westminster for the last time. Its first care was to order the disbanding of the two armies,† voting, however, chains and medals for that of Coldstream, in token of their satisfaction.

* Fleetwood's well-known phrase was, that "the Lord had blasted their counsels and spit in their faces." Baker's Chron. 694.

† It ordered merely that the armies should return to their appointed quarters. House of Commons Journals, Dec. 26, 1659.

One and the same messenger brought Monk the news of the change which had just taken place in London, and that of the rising of Fairfax, who had been forced to declare himself sooner than he intended, by the fear of being discovered and prevented. Monk did not hesitate as to the part which he should take. The unanimous impulse of the army,—notably strengthened within a few days by the friends who were allured to it in consequence of the aspect of affairs,—was to march to the assistance of Fairfax, who was in danger of being attacked and overwhelmed by Lambert; and to forestall, by advancing without delay, the official order to retreat, which it was resolved not to obey. On the 1st of January 1660, in a brilliant frost, it passed the Tweed, and stepped with joy upon English soil. Monk received at Wooler, his first halting-place, a letter from the Speaker, Lenthall, which informed him, in a few cold and formal lines, of the re-installation of the parliament, with the addition of some scanty thanks for his services, and without even an invitation to come to London. However, the same messenger brought Lambert the order for disbanding his troops, and had none of the same kind for Monk. This sufficed to apprise Monk, that together with dis-

trust he had already inspired as much fear as would serve to secure him the ascandency. The next morning the letter from Lenthall was read at the head of each regiment.* The soldiers, sunk up to their knees in snow,† but consoled for the fatigues which awaited them by the hope of at length reaching a home, exclaimed with one voice, that they would go to London to see the parliament assembled.

The impulse was given, and no obstacle interposed to check it. Lambert, upon learning the restoration of the parliament and its vote, had withdrawn by flight from the danger of being left at the mercy of those whom he had offended.

* Gumble (196) says, "their letter consisted of about six lines, as cold as the night;" while Price (Mas. S. T. 750) calls it "a kind letter:" of which the explanation is, I conclude, that the two chaplains looked to different points of comparison. It was cold enough as an intimation of gratitude and good will; but kind if compared with the orders to Lambert. Price, again, says they received the news of these orders to Lambert before they left Coldstream; Gumble, not till they reached Wooler. The question, however, is not of greater moment to the historian than it was to Monk, who would assuredly have been no more governed by them before he marched than he was after.

† "The frost was great," says Price, "and the snow greater; and I do not remember that we ever trod upon *plain earth* from Edinburgh to London." Mas S. T. 749.

His troops had submitted and dispersed. Monk alone remained, and his army, which had no longer any option before it, returned to its subordination; so that from this period there were no more general councils of officers, and no more public assemblies, votes, or remonstrances. Some few might perceive that Lambert's was not the only army vanquished by the late events: but submission was unavoidable; and Monk, restored to his liberty, which had been hampered by all those other liberties wherewith he was not used to deal, could henceforth pursue singly, or with the aid of certain confidants more or less in the dark as to his ulterior projects, that active, reserved, and silent policy, which belonged both to his taste and his situation.

He had taken care also to remove the danger and importunity of family indiscretion. When his wife presented herself at Coldstream without consulting him, the general, who had now left his domestic affairs to engage actively in those of the state and in the exercise of high command, had sent her back somewhat sharply to Berwick, from whence he afterwards despatched her by sea to England. As for Price, the moment that Monk had taken his decision, he had told him, " I shall

not employ you in any part of this business; and be not discontented with it; for you know not these people as well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them;"* and Price, touched, as he tells us himself, with the frankness of the kind general, had from that time kept out of sight, content to watch at a distance, and to hasten by a few solicitations, the accomplishment of the tacit assurances whereon he believed he could already rely.

Monk, now at ease as to Fairfax, slackened his march, leaving it still to time to unravel the intricacies of his new situation, but without the loss of a moment in turning against the parliament those weapons of artifice and activity which had rid him of the army of Lambert. Wholly intent at all times on the enterprise of the moment, after having disposed of one party, he thought only of placing himself in a condition to triumph over the other. Gumble, despatched to London†

* Mas Sel. Tr. 731.

† Gumble was chosen for a reason of the same kind as that which had suggested Clarges to the parliament, namely, his old friendship and intercourse with Scott, who was Secretary of State. His mission took place in consequence of a message from the city by its sword-bearer, complaining that it had not a single member in the Rump to represent it. (p 201.) He carried with him four letters,—to the parliament, to the council of state, to the commissioners for govern-

to examine the position of affairs and of those men with whom the general would have to deal, conveyed to the parliament the most solemn assurances of his devotion; and as a pledge of fidelity laid before it a letter, wherein the common council of the city demanded the support of Monk in obtaining the re-admission of the excluded members, or the election of a free and entire parliament. The same prayer, expressed along his whole march by a multitude of addresses and congratulations, was accompanied by humble protestations of obedience to the civil authorities. The declarations against Charles Stuart and his family multiplied daily, and the more strongly and explicitly, as both suspicion and hope on this subject began more openly to appear. Monk publicly cudgelled, probably with real anger, an officer who had said, "This Monk will at last bring in Charles Stuart."* His language was suited to his actions; and with such appearance of military frankness or of hearty emotion, that Price longed for some new assurance, and crept one night to his master's chamber, whom he found, during a short

ment of the army, and to Fairfax. But he had, besides, his own private instructions. p. 204.

* Mas. S. T. 753; Gumble, 205. This was at York.

interval of toil, asleep in his clothes on two stools, with his head resting on the side of the bed. The chaplain, in the ardour of his zeal, waked him to communicate his fears. Monk, always himself, and always prepared, tranquillised him by words which were the more plain because exempt from consequences, and conjured him to think nothing of all those engagements which he could not refuse; "for," said he, "they are jealous enough of me already;"* and Price, pacified afresh by this proof of the sincerity of his general's intentions, quietly returned to the character of a spectator.

The original anecdote in Price (Mas. S. T. 746) is so curious in its details, and is one of those which appear to stamp his narrative with such strong internal evidence of truth, that I think the reader will forgive me for supplying it in his own words: "To do this," he says, "I knew the interval between midnight and the morning to be the only time. So between two and three of the clock, by the help of a corporal, I came to his chamber door, found it only latched, the general in his clothes, his head laid on the side of the bed, and his body resting upon two stools or a form, fire and candles being in the room. He awaked at my first entrance: I desired his pardon, and he kindly gave me liberty of speech. Upon my representing to him what I judged to be his interest and duty; that is to say, the restoring of our known laws; (for I never used to speak in any other terms;) I cannot forget his passion and his posture: 'Mr. Price,' said he, 'I know your meaning, and I have known it. By the grace of God, I will do it if ever I can find it in my power; and I

Although careful not to belie for an instant his respectful language, Monk continued to advance without orders, or rather against the orders which they had not dared to send him; but everywhere hailed by the ringing of bells and the acclamations of the multitude;—receiving on his way the homage and prayers of a population eager to gather hope from him;—cashiering the officers of whatever regiments he fell in with; and replacing them by men who were devoted to himself. On his arrival at York, however, he thought it behoved him to wait for some sign of the intentions of the parliament. The county of York, under the influence of Fairfax, (now bent on re-establishing that monarchy which he may be almost said to have formerly overturned without intending it,) offered to Monk an advantageous position, which he desired not to relinquish before he was secure of London. Fairfax even urged him to remain at York, and to declare at once for the king.* His officers were beset; some of them

do not much doubt but that I shall.' So closing my hands in both his, he lifted them up, and devoutly uttered, 'By God's help I will do it.'"

* Monk had two personal interviews with Fairfax; one in his own lodging at York, and the other in Fairfax's house, at Nun Appleton. (Mas. Sel. Tr. 752.) But this proposal is

began to bargain for the price of their adhesion to the royal cause, and carried it so high, that one, it is said, would listen to nothing without a promise to be made Lord Chancellor.* But Monk was not likely to adopt this undisguised course, so long as he could proceed with secresy; and the chances of war in the county of York were not so good as those of armed intrigue, such as he would be in a condition to follow up in London, when his head-quarters should be there established. Intent upon making every effort to arrive there without having struck a blow, he had also foreseen the case in which he might at length have received, at York, the order to retreat. He

stated to have been made by a Mr. Bowles, chaplain to Fairfax; and, as Price adds, his "counsellor and agitator," (which word, by the way, although so spelt, often stood merely for "adjutator," in the history of those times, and seems to have been so used here.) He affirms that Monk called him in when Bowles was gone, and told him of the proposal; that the general was perplexed, and he himself startled; and that he entreated Monk to "sleep between that and the walls of London," and then "to open his eyes and consider what he had to do." Possibly the chaplain in this may have somewhat magnified his own part; but there can be no doubt, I think, that Monk did receive such a proposal from Fairfax, and listened to it with complacency.

* This anecdote Price says he afterwards had from the general, who had received it from Hyde. (Mas. Sel. Tr. 752.) The authority does not seem very good.

would then have possessed the means of forcing the parliament to reconsider its imprudence, and reckoned upon obeying it so slowly as to afford it the necessary time.

But the unhappy government, driven from suspicion to suspicion, had no longer anything before it but a choice of dangers. That of leaving Monk and Fairfax to unite their forces in the county of York, appeared even more alarming than the presence of Monk in London. On the 12th of January, upon the letters presented by Gumble, an act was passed approving all that Monk had done up to that date. At length, on the 14th, a tardy vote of thanks settled upon him a perpetual annuity of a thousand pounds sterling; and the Speaker was directed to write to him, that the House, moved by the sense of his great services, would set about providing for the payment of his soldiers, and was rejoiced to learn that, "according to the desire of the parliament, he purposed to come to London."* They voted also that two commis-

* Monk is desired to come up to London "as speedily as he can," by a vote of the 6th of January. The vote, settling the £1000 a year upon him, passed on the 16th, not the 14th, as M. Guizot states. House of Commons Journals, 1659.

sioners from the parliament should be sent to meet him and do him honour. Scott and Robinson, two of the most headstrong of that blind but jealous party, which was hurrying to its ruin through its precautions to prevent it, were proposed for this mission by the Presbyterian party, to which they were become inconvenient in Westminster; and accepted by the Independents as true and faithful spies, well qualified to enlighten them as to the advance of their enemy.*

* These two men belonged to the extreme republican party, and Thomas Scott was one of their most distinguished members. We learn most of him from Ludlow, who speaks of him often, and with much regard and respect. He was one of those few whose unbending spirit rendered them intractable and obnoxious to Cromwell during the protectorate, but who returned to power with the remnant of the Long Parliament. When the re-admission of the secluded members overpowered his party, he was afterwards compelled to fly by the proceedings against the regicides, among whom he was one of the most determined; before he left the House having publicly declared that "he should desire no greater honour in this world, than that the following inscription should be engraved on his tomb; 'Here lieth one who had a hand and heart in the execution of Charles Stuart, late king of England.'" (Ludlow, p. 365.) He was ultimately one of those excepted from the act of indemnity,—failed in his attempt to escape,—and was executed at Charing Cross, maintaining to the last the same undaunted temper. On the occasion of which we are speaking in the text, he seems to have been thoroughly deluded by Monk, and undertook to

Monk, having arrived at York on the 11th of January, set out again on the 16th, to march towards London; taking with him only 4,000 infantry and 1,800 horse; a sufficient force to overawe, without raising suspicions. As a public proof of the sincerity of his designs, he sent back Morgan and two regiments of cavalry to Scotland, where he thus strengthened his own party, and secured a retreat in case of a reverse. Another regiment was left at York, under the command of Colonel Fairfax, nephew to Sir Thomas, and one of the officers of the Scottish army who had from the beginning most usefully aided the measures of his general. Careful not to burthen the county of York, Monk had dispersed his troops in distant quarters; so that

answer for his fidelity to the parliament in consequence of what he saw during this mission.

Of Luke Robinson we know far less. He sat for Scarborough in the Long Parliament, after the expulsion of the former members for that place; and for the North Riding of Yorkshire, in Cromwell's Parliament of 1656. But we do not find his name attached to the Bloody Warrant. He was, however, an active republican of some reputation, till the Restoration was inevitable; and then, when the king's declaration arrived from Breda, "Mr. Luke Robinson," says Whitelocke, formerly a most fierce man, did now first magnifie his grace and goodness." Memor. May 1, 1660.

on his arrival at Nottingham on the 19th, he was obliged to stop there two days, in order to assemble his forces. He there met with Dr. Clarges, and Gumble had rejoined him the evening before. Both brought tidings of the state of London. He was loudly called for by a portion of the people, and by the city authorities. Among the lower classes, a considerable party still preferred Lambert and the Independents; but the parliament was held in aversion and contempt by all. The troops restrained the popular movements which were ever ready to burst forth against it; and they, now the last resource of that same government which they had ejected but two months since, again became an object of hope to some who were disposed, if they had not wanted courage, to throw themselves once more into the arms of Lambert, that they might avoid falling into the power of Monk.

It was necessary, therefore, to deprive them of this last refuge. Certain members of his political committee, whether they no longer felt a doubt of those designs which they continued to serve, or still wished to be assured of them, proposed, in order to cut short all suspicion, that the army

should subscribe an engagement to obey the parliament in all things, except the bringing in of Charles Stuart. This proposal was parried by respect for the parliament, and by the danger of falling into the same error as had been committed by the English army, in presuming to give laws to it. The fundamental principle of submission to the civil authorities was the more serviceable on this occasion, as there was no time to admit of debate. Scott and Robinson were to arrive the next day, and all free discussion would then cease. A letter therefore must suffice. Monk, far less scrupulous as to his own engagements than those which were to be imposed upon his army, gave permission to write in his name to his fellow-countrymen the gentlemen of Devonshire, in order to destroy, by arguments and protestations, those hopes which they began to build upon him for the return of the king. The committee also, at the last moment, employed itself in drawing up a letter to the House, to request that the troops then quartered in London might be dismissed, and those of Monk admitted to the honour of guarding the parliament. But it was thought better to wait till the approach of the

army should render the prayer more efficacious, before it was despatched.*

Scott and Robinson did in fact arrive the next day. According to orders given, the highest honours were prepared for their reception. Monk spared no demonstration of humility, becoming the most obsequious servant of the parliament; and the officers, well instructed, and perhaps sensible of a malicious pleasure in duping these despots of an hour, showered their homage and respect upon them so effectually, that the commissioners, especially Scott, intoxicated with their importance, dreamt of nothing but extolling in their reports the affection of the general for the parliament, and the respectful discipline of his army. Yet their confidence was not such that they neglected any precaution of the most minute, and even the most insulting, inspection. As far as the last halting-place, near London, they arranged so as always to lodge in the same house with the general, careful to discover or to contrive secretly, in the walls and partitions, some aperture by which they could examine what

* Skinner, 271. Clarges takes to himself the credit of having suggested this letter. Bak. Chron. 701.

passed in his chamber. In their uneasiness and mortification at that concurrence of uniform prayers, which, from the Scottish borders to London, had been incessantly pointed against their everlasting domination, they were observed to be ready to repel the most insignificant attack, and to give way to such violence, that one day Scott declared that if there was any attempt to reinstate the excluded members, or to assemble a new parliament, he, old as he was, would take up the sword again, and defend the door sof the house by force against the intruders. Thus, throwing away by their ill-humour the fruits of their importunate assiduity, they delivered Monk from the worst inconvenience of their presence, and spared him, by their impetuosity of speech, the embarrassment which he would have felt in giving his replies before them. Almost always restricted on these occasions to the part of a passive or docile listener, he seemed by his silence to approve or rather to submit. A few words on the obedience due to superiors, a motion of the head, or a knitting of the brow, which each could interpret according to his fancy, were usually the only share he took in the conversation.*

* "They were the speakers, and answered all; the gene-

At the same time he showed anxiety to soften, as far as he could without committing himself, by the modest affability of his demeanour, the harsh mien of the commissioners; and, on leaving the place of interview, his friends and confidants were watchful that no petitioner should be allowed to depart in discontent, or uncertain as to the intentions in reliance upon which he came. Special care was taken to appease the displeasure of the aldermen of the city, who, on the faith of the letters which Monk had addressed to them, had come to visit him at Harborough, calculating upon a more cordial reception. The tone of freedom and boldness which marked their language so offended the commissioners, that Monk thought himself obliged to second the expression of their resentment by coldness on his own part. The aldermen retired in bitter disgust, and the rumour of their ill success appeared for a moment to dishearten other petitioners; but they were soon brought to understand that the presentation of their petitions was of far greater importance than the answers which might be returned to them.

ral's return consisting in a nod, a frown, or the rubbing of his forehead if the speech were long." Price, Mas. Sel. Tr. 755.

Meantime the cavaliers, true to their system of prudence, avoided to swell this triumphal procession of the restorer of republican laws and liberties. Some few even began to change into suspicions their impatient hopes; and their apprehensions suspended the progress of mistrust in the army. At St. Albans, the famous Independent preacher, Hugh Peters, came to congratulate Monk with a long sermon, on this text; "He led them forth by the right way, that they might go to the city where they dwelt;"* and tracing with his finger, on the cushion before him, the windings of the path which the Israelites had followed in the desert, he showed that they wandered forty years to reach the land of Canaan, situated at not forty days' journey from Egypt; and yet were always led in "the Lord's right way." The application was looked upon as ingenious; but it was a few hearers only who gave it the full scope of which it was susceptible, and smiled while they conjectured that the wandering might be longer, and reach farther than Hugh Peters had intended.†

From St. Albans, Monk, without apprising the commissioners, sent to the parliament the letter

* Ps. cvii. 7. † Price, Mas. Sel. Tr. 756.

prepared at Nottingham, to demand the removal of the regiments then quartered in London and its neighbourhood, with the exception of the regiments of Morley and Fagg, which had remained true to their duty towards the parliament. He feared, he said, to expose the discipline of his army to the example and fellowship of those troops, so lately rebellious, and always prone to become so. Whatever emotions might be excited by such a demand among those to whom it was addressed, the time for resistance was past. In vain did some strive to obtain that only one-half of the old regiments should be withdrawn to make room for half of Monk's troops; the movement could no longer be arrested; and Haslerig, in order to thwart his enemies, who, as he said, had suggested to Monk to require the removal of his regiment, for the purpose of causing a rupture between them, hastened to solicit it himself.* The order for departure

* Ludlow gives this account, p. 345. Clarges, on the other hand, (Baker's Chron. p. 703,) says precisely the reverse, and asserts that Haslerig resisted. There can, however, be no doubt, I think, that Ludlow's is the true story, since it is strong in details and internal evidence. His statement is, that "Monk's party," as he calls the majority in the parliament, unable to get rid of Haslerig, as they had of Vane

was given; but in token of regret, and to allay the discontent of the soldiers, one month's pay was voted to them.

This was not enough for an affront of such a nature, and was a poor compensation for the power which the troops had hitherto enjoyed, and for the charms of a London life, to which they were accustomed. At the moment for leaving their quarters, two regiments of infantry mutinied, and declared that they would not consent to go until they had received what was due to them. The cavalry appeared to be on the point of fol-

and others, for compliance with the army in the late interruption, rejoiced in Monk's application for the removal of the troops, which was accompanied by an express mention of Haslerig's regiment of horse; and that, in order to disappoint them, he had himself desired the removal of his own regiment. There is, however, some inconsistency in the story, because this is all said to have been done by Monk's party at Monk's special request, and yet Haslerig was in "constant correspondence" with Monk, and entered with Ludlow "into a prolix commendation of him." What may have been the tone or tenor of this correspondence, it is impossible to say; but Haslerig had no great cause to plume himself upon it, if we are to judge of it by one specimen which has come down to us, written a fortnight later. For we have a singular and most peremptory letter from Monk to Haslerig, in Clarendon's State Papers, (iii. 678,) dated on the 13th of February, and recommending the latter to see that they do not "clash."

lowing their example. At the same time the apprentices took up arms, and began to parade the city, loudly demanding a free parliament, in the hope that the disaffected soldiers would join them against the *Rump*. The news of the disturbance reached Barnet at midnight, where Monk's troops had received their orders to march into the city the next day. Scott, in great trepidation, left his lodging, in night-cap, dressing-gown, and slippers, to entreat the general to move immediately to London. "I will answer for this night's disturbance," said Monk, calmly, "and be early enough in the morning to prevent any mischief." Though he was resolved to prevent the two armies from committing themselves the one against the other,* he was little solicitous as to the injuries which might be mutually inflicted between the soldiers and the parliament. He soon learnt that all had been restored to order. The officers of the disaffected regiments were for the most part new, and chosen by the parliament; and the soldiers, without leaders, had

* Which was suspected to be Scott's object; for this was looked upon as an artifice, "so to mingle the soldiers of both armies, that they might be less at the general's devotion." Mas. Sel. Tr. 757.

acquiesced, in the expectation that they should be paid at their first halt. They had marched off quietly, and a few troops of cavalry had easily dispersed the apprentices. The next day, Feb. the 3rd, Monk entered London,* on horseback, at the head of his forces, accompanied by the commissioners, by his principal officers, and by a considerable train of persons of some rank, who had come to meet him at different points of his route. The bells rang as he passed; but the people appeared cold, and the troops were surprised at a welcome so different from that which they had everywhere received along their march. There still remained in London something of the emotions of the past evening;—the hatred of the *Rump* disposed the temper of many in favour of those who had overthrown, against those who had restored it; and Monk's soldiers, wan and exhausted with privations and a toilsome march, were bad substitutes, in the eyes of the populace, for that gay and gallant army which had been so long the ruling power of the country. The procession marched in the direction of the Speaker's lodging.

* By Gray's Inn Lane. Mas. Sel. Tr. 758. Gumble, 228.

He was not returned from the House, but they met him soon afterwards,* with the mace in his carriage, which was the symbol of his sovereignty. The general dismounted, and complimented him after his own fashion, with few words; after which he proceeded towards Whitehall, where he was lodged in the apartments of the Prince of Wales.

The next day, Monk, who had been appointed by the parliament a member of the council of state, charged with the executive power, was invited to occupy his place there, and to take the oath of abjuration. Seven members of this council had refused to take it. Monk alleged that he could not in conscience come to a decision without having heard the reasons on both sides; and required that they should be discussed in a conference, adding, that his army was particularly tender in the matter of oaths, and that he could not bind himself by this, without acquainting it therewith. The struggle was about to recommence; his course now was to engage his army against the parliament, and meanwhile to make use of his consideration for the one, in order

* "In the Strand, at the opening of the street." Ibid.

to resist the designs of the other. On the second day, Monk, being summoned to Westminster to receive thanks, refused to sit down on the chair which had been prepared for him at the bar, and standing up behind it, addressed to the parliament, in the most modest language and the most submissive tone, a string of counsels which, from his position, had more the air of orders. He represented the inconvenience of multiplying oaths and subscriptions; urged the removal from all employment, both of cavaliers and fanatics; a name which those sectaries, who had been used by Cromwell as the instrument of his power, had never yet heard openly given to themselves. He told them how, having been besieged by petitioners, since he left the borders, expressing a desire that the sitting of the parliament might terminate, he had answered them that his duty was to preserve the parliament from all violence, while, at the same time, he had pacified them with the promise which the parliament itself had made, to put an end to its power. He spoke of Scotland and of Ireland; omitted none of those subjects which he thought required immediate notice; and gave offence to many, who neverthe-

less dared not betray it, so great need had they of clinging to this last hope.*

It was not yet time to undeceive, and yet it was becoming difficult to blind them. Monk, now exposed upon the stage, and urged from all quarters by impatient observers, could no longer betake himself to his favourite resource of silence. Taciturnity no longer served the purpose of disguise, and falsehood became necessary. He adopted this new part with the indifference of a soldier, who looks upon lying but as a stratagem of war, and upon fraud as a prize won from cre-

* It is a curious circumstance that this celebrated speech, and the entire interview at which it was delivered, is wholly omitted from the Journals; that in its proper place is to be found nothing but a gap marked with asterisks; and that it has reached us only in the shape of a detached pamphlet. There seems to be no known explanation of this, (See Cobb. Parl. Hist. iii. 1575,) for however unpalatable the affair may have been to the Rump, they did not dare own that they found it so, and could scarcely have taken purposely so marked a step for suppressing it. Ludlow, indeed, says that "he gave the parliament good words;" (p. 347;) Whitelocke, that "part of his speech troubled and amused some of his masters of the parliament;" (Memor. Feb. 6, 16$\frac{52}{53}$;) but no one could well mistake its tone, which certainly appears to be as little as possible like that of a man whose own will was in abeyance, whose plans were unformed, and whose course was to be ruled by chance.

dulity. His promises became daily more unequivocal. To Ludlow he said, "We must live and die for and with a commonwealth;"* and declared that, in spite of his respect for the parliament, he would never suffer it to admit within its walls any one of the secluded members. He appeased the anger of the turbulent Haslerig, who was much incensed that the speaker had treated Monk as General, instead of calling him Commissioner Monk;—dispelled the constantly reviving suspicions of Scott;—and by the solemnity of his protestations confounded the most obstinate distrust.† Admiral Lawson, little satis-

* Ludlow, p. 346.

† This great charge against Monk of treachery and falsehood, for which the reader must have already discerned some ground, is that which has been most incessantly reiterated,—which rests upon a vice of his too notorious and too prominent to admit of doubt, and which has stamped his fame in history as indelibly as his great achievement. The course of "astonishing dissimulation," in Mr. Hallam's words, which Monk steadily pursued from the time of his first declaration in Scotland to that of the Restoration, is such as to defy all ordinary perfidy, and to rouse every sense of common honesty in array against the admiration which is due to his dexterity. "Cromwell," Mr. Hallam adds, (ii. 389,) "was a mere bungler to him." Cromwell, indeed, had to gain the confidence of a single all-powerful party, which he accomplished by a system of adroit hypocrisy, uniform and sustained. Monk had to deal with a chaos of factions and intrigues; all struggling for

fied of Monk's principles, said to Ludlow, as he left his house, "The priest and the Levite have

dominion; all jealous of him and of each other; all straining to detect his purpose: he was compelled to humour those whom he despised, and to repel and discourage those whom he meant to raise;—he had to parry the indiscretion of his partisans, as much as the malice of his enemies;—and he had to depend on instruments which were scarcely under his control, and which might, by a single oversight, be turned to his destruction. Yet he contrived for a space of six months to keep all in dependence on his will,—to maintain his position as the centre of all hope and all anxiety,—and at length (to his credit it must be recollected) to accomplish his purpose without bloodshed or confusion. Even his extravagant adulators, although they do not, of course, record the strongest instances of falsehood, attempt no more than an excuse for it on the plea of necessity; and yet Clarendon (vii. 381) has the face to affirm that he was "throughout his whole life never suspected of dissimulation!" An assertion, meant, of course, to disparage him, by showing that he had no hand in the Restoration, to which he was driven in spite of genuine protestations. A strange and perverse attempt! an attempt to injure the fame of an enemy, by proving that he was *not* a liar! The instances which we have in Ludlow, and in the various correspondence of the times, are given in language of protestation even impiously strong; yet, at the same time, he appears throughout his life to have had a conscientious aversion to legal oaths and subscriptions. That same adjuration which he would not scruple to utter to an individual, he could not be persuaded to concede to authority; an incongruity in his character which it is difficult to explain, if it be not that he estimated differently the force and the convenience of such engage-

passed by and would not help us; I hope we have now found the Samaritan who will do it."

ments. Denouncing, however, as we are bound to do by all moral principle, this system of indefensible duplicity, it is impossible not to own that, if it admitted of excuse at all, few have ever had more for such resources. He was in perpetual peril amid the conflict of his friends and foes; "as there is a fanatic party," said he jestingly, "on one side, so there is a frantic party on the other, for the indiscretion whereof neither party could be responsible," (Rumbold to Hyde. Clar. St. P. iii. 722;) and the prying curiosity of all was incessant and most embarrassing. It is amusing to remark with what simplicity the practised republicans seem to have attacked him with questions, to which they could hardly have hoped to obtain an ingenuous answer, but which he knew, at least as well as they did, were chiefly intended to entrap him; and, without defending Monk, we may feel indignant with these men, who accused him of hypocrisy and falsehood, and sank in convenient oblivion their own similar and gross delinquencies;—who plied him with their anxiety for the laws and liberties of the country, and their respect for the will of its people, and yet the next moment protested against the only legal means by which that will could be expressed, for the sake of maintaining the hateful usurpation of a knot of irresponsible tyrants, whose power they well knew, if it were but allowed a voice, it would at once annihilate with scorn. Monk's protestations in favour of parliament, at least, whereon these men vent much of their indignation, involved no necessary falsehood, except in their own selfish sense. He may have contemplated a Restoration throughout, but he was shrewd enough to perceive the temper of the nation, and whatever merit may be allowed him must consist in great part in his having

At the same time, his wife, instructed to receive those of the members of parliament, overwhelmed them with the affability of her voluble attentions; and with an eager obsequiousness, which was somewhat vulgar in the eyes of the London ladies, she herself poured out the wine, and went to fetch the sweetmeats, which it was then the custom to offer to those from whom a visit was received.*

These demonstrations, however, did not at all shake the confidence which the city had resolved to place in the servant of the parliament. Friends and confidants laboured earnestly to maintain it. The officers, most of them natives of London, diffused, in their families and among their acquaintances, the most favourable opinion of the general who had restored them to their homes. The people at large began to like soldiers who were modest, orderly, and peaceable, who paid with punctuality, and gave no cause for either disturbance or alarm. The apprentices

achieved it by constitutional methods. He made no attempt to impose the king by force; he simply gave the nation liberty of speech; and the republican patriots never forgave him an offence, in their eyes more unpardonable than even his unscrupulous falsehood.

* Ludlow, p. 347.

began to regard with very little dread, the attachment of the army to the parliament which it had re-established. The cry of "A free parliament," and "Down with the *Rump!*" was bursting forth in all corners; scarcely repressed, and almost sanctioned, by the acquiescence of the city magistrates. Finally, the common council, losing all patience, refused the payment of a tax whereof the collection had been attempted; and voted, on the 8th of February, that no more should be levied until the nation was represented by a parliament freely chosen.

The council of state, informed of what had passed, met in haste to deliberate on the measures to be taken against such an act of rebellion. There were two parties in the council. The more moderate dared only to speak of the danger of the enterprise; but Scott reassured them. "Monk," said he, "has pronounced against the insolence of the city, and has declared that he will defend the parliament." Monk, being invited to attend the council, found the business there settled,—the orders signed, and addressed to the seven commissioners invested with the government of the army. He had no choice, but either to submit to extinction, by allowing others

to execute the service, to resist it and commit himself, or to undertake it and rest supreme. Whether by instinct, or by concert, he sides with the most violent;—exaggerates the necessity for acts of rigour,—offers to perform all, and answers for success. Finally, it is arranged that he shall on the morrow enter the city with his army, to demolish the gates and portcullises; to remove and destroy the chains which barricaded the streets, as well as the posts which held them; to arrest some of the most prominent and leading members of the common council; and to take up his quarters in the city with his troops, until it should have returned to its obedience.* He

* This is one of the passages in Monk's career, which has greatly puzzled his historians. Yet here again I cannot but think the mystery has been exaggerated. Skinner very naturally remarks (p. 237) that he was reduced to a dangerous dilemma, for that he was only one of a commission who were entrusted with the government of the army, and that if he had refused to act, Haslerig, Morley, or Walton, who were his colleagues, and on the spot, might any one of them have stepped into his place, and either have removed him from his own command and have done the work with his army, or have recalled Fleetwood's to supplant it. On the other hand, I perceive no difficulty in supposing that he may have foreseen much of what actually happened in consequence of his acquiescence. He might be quite sure that the angry disgust of the troops would be excited, and that it would be

returned home at about two o'clock in the morning, where his friends and household were awaiting him with the keenest anxiety. A few days before, he had received intelligence that

easy for him, when they were sufficiently incensed, to direct it against the authors of the order, and to regain their confidence by remonstrating in their behalf. Price indeed says, (Mas. Sel. Tr. 761,) that one of his motives was a promise previously made to allay the suspicions of Scott; but the calm, immovable air of determination with which he is described as having met the dismay and agitation of his friends, indicates a settled purpose of his own. Whether he urged and aggravated the proposal, or simply submitted to put it in execution, is not so clear; but if he did it deliberately he might also have proposed it. Price says, he asked the general himself soon after, how he came to engage in the affair, and that he answered, he could not have done his business so soon without it, and possibly not at all. Scott defended himself subsequently, by assuring Dr. Barrow, the judge advocate, that the council would not have put Monk to it if he had not offered, and if he, Scott, had not answered for him. Ludlow (p. 348) gives the account that Monk aggravated the severity of the order. On the other hand, Whitelocke (Memor. Feb. 9, $16\frac{59}{60}$) says that Monk received the order in the shape of a resolution from the parliament, and was only offended that it was at first directed to the commissioners generally, without any mention of himself. My impression from all these narrations is, that Monk thought it was his policy to execute it, and therefore took his chance of obtaining farther credit by promoting it. Hume (ch. 62) supposes, I think idly, that he was drawn into it blindfold, and found from the consequences that he had committed a mistake. But where is there any authority for such a notion?

the son of Scott had confided to the man with whom he lodged a plot, which was arranged and ready for execution, to commit Monk to the Tower, and to bring a criminal charge against him, whereby he might be promptly destroyed. They had supposed he must be lost; when, on his reappearance their anxiety changed its object. In consternation at the order he had received, and at the resolution he had formed to execute it, they endeavoured vainly to dissuade him. He remained inflexible; retired to escape their importunity; and was just in bed, when those councillors of state who had, like himself, refused the abjuration, arrived to divert him from his purpose. Under pretext of the late hour, he barely listened to them, and they were obliged to withdraw.

It was impossible for Monk to hesitate. His own safety, which was the chief concern of the moment, and had been endangered since Sir George Booth's affair, was becoming daily more precarious. The disclosures of Scott's son, even though they might indicate nothing more than the vague ideas of a moment of anger and suspicion, sufficiently hinted the dangers which might overtake him; and if the parliament had bold-

ness enough to accuse him, he was not quite certain that his army would treat the accusation with incredulity. But the service which he was preparing to perform, would, for the moment at least, remove all pretext for mistrust; and perhaps he also descried some advantage in taking possession of the city in the name of the parliament, that he might make use of it afterwards, according to his own discretion. The next morning, without a word to any one, and before the smallest suspicion of what was in preparation had reached the city, Monk entered it at the head of his troops, distributed them to their posts, and established himself in a tavern near Guildhall. The citizens, astounded at this military parade, remained in suspense between alarm and confidence, and awaited with anxiety the upshot of this strange scene. At one moment a rumour spread that Monk had declared for the king, but the mistake did not last long; and indignation soon equalled the surprise. The army shared in it no less keenly than the citizens. The superior officers, when Monk imparted to them the orders which they were to execute, remonstrated against such ingratitude towards the city, refusing to be instrumental in it, and tendering their

resignations. The general, as he listened to them, chewed his tobacco, and knit his brow: he saw the bearings of his position, and perceived all that he might risk. "What, will you not obey the parliament?"* he asked them in an abrupt tone, and with a gloomy air; and it was plain that his anger was not directed against themselves. They withdrew, and Monk pursued only the more vehemently those measures, to make use of which against his adversaries was thenceforth his only course. Upon the refusal of the superior, the service was entrusted to the inferior officers. When their performance of it actually began, a kind of stupor seized upon the inhabitants of the city. Their ideas were confounded; they knew not what to believe; and were at a loss to understand what was doing before their eyes. "Is this," said they, "that Monk that would bring in the king? This is the Scottish devil. What more mischief thence?" They saw with horror the men who were most popular in the city seized and carried to the Tower. Surprise had deprived them of all notion of resistance; the people ran about the streets in consternation; and the city had the

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 701.

air of a place captured by assault. The parliamentary party had triumphed; and Haslerig exclaimed, "Now, George, we have thee for ever, body and soul."*

The city authorities, however, were not yet discouraged. At a loss what to think of it, they repaired to Monk, and tried to confer with him on a friendly footing. They invited him to dinner in the name of the city. He declined it, and retained his dark and forbidding air. The leading citizens came from all quarters to complain, some in a temperate, but others in a more vehement tone, of the insult of such an aggression. He was startled by the sharpness of their resentment and of their desperate threats; so that by the end of the day, tired of the part he had been playing, or thinking that he had done enough, or fearing it might be dangerous to do more, he gave orders to desist, although the chains and posts only were as yet removed; and he wrote to the parliament that he was in want of tools, those which he had brought having been disabled in the first part of the work; but that he did not think it necessary to proceed farther, for that the city appeared disposed to submit, and

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 701.

that a common council was summoned for the next day, where he had no doubt that they would pass resolutions of obedience. From this moment softening his manner, he received with his accustomed courtesy all those who during the evening thronged around him; excusing himself toward some by the constraint of the orders which he had received, and intimating to others a deeper design; "in short," says Whitelocke, "hardly giving the same account to two men."*

But he was the strongest; and confidence could be reposed nowhere if not in him. Colonel Morley offered to deliver the Tower to him, and promised him the assistance of his own regiment and of that of his brother-in-law, Colonel Fagg.† The parliament had heard the report

*Whitelocke, Memor. Feb. 9, 16$\frac{59}{60}$.

† As early as December 10, 1659, the celebrated John Evelyn, with whom Morley was in close intimacy, had sought interviews with him; urged him to bestir himself by taking steps for a Restoration; and told him "he might do it without Monk, and have all the honour." (Diary i. 307, 4to edit. ii. 144,) Clarges, in the edition of Baker's Chronicle, to which he first supplied a continuation, published in 1660, (p. 680,) and in several of those which followed it, merely states, that just after the expulsion of the Rump by Lambert and Fleetwood, Morley was persuaded by Evelyn to return to his allegiance. But the subsequent edition of 1730 contains a fuller account of their intercourse, drawn

of the council of state upon what had taken place in the morning. The moderate party was

up by Clarges, and submitted to Evelyn, among whose papers it has been found in Clarges' own hand writing. It appears from thence and from Evelyn's Diary, that he could never persuade Morley to take a decided course till too late; but was, after repeated attempts to get access to him in the Tower, which he only once accomplished, put off "with a faint answer 'that he would shortly wait upon him at his lodging.'" Evelyn, provoked with this, wrote to him a letter, dated Jan. 12, $16\frac{59}{60}$, preserved in that paper, urging him vehemently, for his own sake, to seize the present opportunity. To the above manuscript narrative Evelyn himself has subjoined a note; in which he says, "Morley was at this time lieutenant of the Tower of London; was absolute master of the city, there being very few of the rebel army any way near it, save at Somerset House a trifling garrison, which was marching out to reinforce Lambert, upon the news of Monk's coming out of Scotland. He was lieutenant of all the confederate counties of Sussex, Surry, Hampshire, &c.; his brother-in-law governor of Portsmouth and Hampshire; his own brother, William Morley, governor of Arundel Castle; in sum, he had all the advantages he could have desired, to have raised the well affected of the city and country, universally breathing after a deliverer, (uncertain as to what Monk intended,) and so had absolutely prevented any other person or power whatever (in all appearance) from having the honour of bringing in the king, before those who were in motion could have snatched it out of his hand." But he proved "wavering, and so irresolute," that he put it off till the game was wholly in Monk's hands. "This poor Morley saw," adds Evelyn, "and implored my interest by what means he might secure himself and obtain

silent and dismayed; the triumphant republicans had just voted Monk fifty pounds for the expenses of his table,* when they received his letter from the city. The victorious party fell into a fit of vehement irritation. The common council had been forbidden to assemble, and they voted its dissolution; the order for demolition was renewed with greater rigour, and Monk thought that obedience was still his most politic

his pardon:" which he appears indeed to have procured afterwards by Evelyn's interest. See Append. to Mem. of Evelyn, ii. 125. (4to edit. 1818.) On the 24th of May "came to me Colonel Morley, about his pardon, now too late seeing his error and neglect of the counsel I gave him. .... I addressed him to Lord Mordaunt, then in great favour, for his pardon, which he obtained at the cost of 1,000*l.*, as I heard. O, the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negociation to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest when it was entirely in his hands!" Diary i. 309. This account, it must be owned, completely justifies Ludlow in saying that Morley was of "a temporising spirit." But Evelyn, in his impetuous loyalty, may have a little overrated the facilities of the case and the occasion. He seems to build wholly on the disposition of the people, and to forget the temper of the troops themselves. This was a most essential question, to which Morley could not have been blind; and when we are informed of the difficulty and danger which even Monk had to encounter with his army, it may easily be supposed that Morley would not have met with less.

* Ludlow, 348.

course. The next day, therefore, saw the same operations re-commence, but under a very different aspect. The citizens began to take courage; the soldiers, better informed and under little constraint, openly expressed their indignation at the part which they were made to play; every blow was accompanied by angry insults against those who ordered it; and the officers, taking up the fragments of the chains, said, "These are the chains and medals that the parliament promised us at Coldstream."*

Towards the evening the troops evacuated the city, and Monk returned to Whitehall. A new movement of discontent had arisen against him in Westminster. He had received an order to remain in the city, and the parliament began to evince surprise at being so ill obeyed. The republican party was not yet undeceived as to its victory. Resolved to push it farther, it had, that very morning, caused a petition to be presented to the House, praying that those only who had taken the oath of abjuration should be admitted to public employment. At the same time, Lambert's adherents began to lift up their heads again. He himself had stayed quietly in London, not-

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 701.

withstanding the order he had received to depart. Monk's army was discontented and irritated; and events seemed on the point of taking their course independently of the hand which had hitherto directed them with so much vigilance. To lead them farther, it was necessary to yield to them. On the 10th, in the evening, a certain number of the officers of Monk's army came to him, to say that the parliament, after having dishonoured them in the eyes of the nation, only sought an opportunity to sacrifice them to the army of Lambert; and that it was time to cast off a party, which while it employed them in its service, had deprived them of all their own friends without the power of supplying them with others. Monk appeared to hesitate, or perhaps did really hesitate as to deciding so abruptly. He allowed himself to be entreated; at length consented; and acting for the first time without the concurrence of his fellow commissioners, gave orders that his troops should march on the morrow towards the city,—that his principal officers should be summoned early to Whitehall,—and in the night caused a letter to the parliament to be prepared. The next day the assembled officers signed it after him. This letter, probably the harshest

ever received by that parliament, so used to insults, began by setting forth the grievances of the army, among the foremost of which stood the city affair; and ended by declaring it to be indispensable that on the following Friday the parliament should issue its writs for the election of members to fill up the vacant seats, and should fix the 6th of May for the day when it would at length retire to make way for a parliament freely chosen. The letter was despatched, and Monk put himself at the head of his troops, which had already marched, and proceeded to Finsbury Fields, from whence he required of the Lord Mayor to assign him quarters for his soldiers. The Lord Mayor,* surprised, and not much pleased, with this new visit, evaded an answer, and invited the general to come and dine with him, that they might consult touching his request. Monk repaired thither at once; and remarking the Lord Mayor's constrained demeanour, "How is this?" said he, "your lordship does not receive me with the same countenance as formerly." The Lord Mayor thereupon excusing himself by what had taken place on the preceding days, "My return," said Monk, "is chiefly to

* By name Sir Thomas Allen. Gumb. 247. Skinn. 242.

rectify those misunderstandings which have lately arisen; and to that end I entreat your lordship to despatch away your orders unto the aldermen and common council, desiring them to give me a meeting in the afternoon at their Guild Hall."* This was the body which the parliament had dissolved; and nothing more was wanting to indicate a change of purpose. Moreover, certain of his friends had received their instructions;† and

* This is adopted from Skinner, (p. 244,) who, however, gives it merely in the third person; and who had probably no means of knowing the exact words. Nor are they of any importance; but it seems as well just to notice this circumstance, since M. Guizot has put them into Monk's mouth as if he really spoke them.

† Price was among the number. "As soon as the general left Whitehall," says he, "I went into the city, and not knowing where he would quarter that night, I came to the Three Tuns Tavern, before Guildhall, where the general had quartered two nights before. I entered the tavern with a servant and a portmanteau, and asked for a room, which I had scarce got into, but wine followed me as a present from some citizens, desiring leave to drink their morning's draught with me. I accepted of the civility; but in requital of their wine and company, was asked what news? and what might be the meaning of my so returning hither. I freely told them that we were not now the same men that we were two days ago; and that this they should find, ere night, to the full satisfaction of the injuries done them. The good men were transported with joy; and most of them left me and their wine and all, to run and communicate this hopeful

those who entered the city in the general's suite began to revive its hopes. After a splendid dinner, which betokened a day of rejoicing, Monk prepared to proceed with the Lord Mayor to Guild Hall, where the common council had promptly assembled, and which was surrounded on all sides by the people, impatient for the tidings they were about to obtain; when he was informed of the arrival of the two parliamentary commissioners, Scott and Robinson.

The parliament on receipt of Monk's letter, having intelligence of his march into the city, and of the movement which seemed to be there in preparation, had judged that the first thing to be done was to withdraw him from thence if possible; and had sent Scott and Robinson, as likely to be acceptable to him,* with instructions to assure him that at the moment when his letter reached the parliament it was occupied in taking steps for the elections, and that it would settle

news." Mas. Sel. Tr. 767. I have ventured to transcribe this passage, because such little incidents, although of no real importance, appear to me to supply curious and interesting touches towards portraying the manners of the age, the great events of which we seek to understand.

* Whitelocke (Memor. Feb. 11, $16\frac{59}{60}$) says "they boasted much of their intimacy and favour with him."

that matter as soon as it had disposed of certain others. The deputies were to press him to return to Whitehall, where he might satisfy himself more closely, and with his own eyes, of the good intentions of the government; while by remaining in the city he greatly endangered the fidelity of his soldiers in the midst of a disaffected population. The commissioners, having arrived with difficulty through a crowd which was alarmed at their presence, were still obliged, in order to reach the general, to force a passage through the midst of some scores of those officers who had but lately seemed so respectful in their manner, but who now, with rudeness and irritation, heaped upon them reproaches of ingratitude and perfidy. Monk received them coldly; answered them by severe complaints of the conduct of the parliament; and when the commissioners attempted to explain to him the fears which they entertained from his sojourn in the city, "If the parliament," said he, "will do as they are desired in my letter, they need not fear but all things will go well.* The two members were astounded. Scott himself, for the first time, perceived that they could no longer depend on Monk's respect for the par-

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 768.

liament. They both retired, escaping with difficulty from the search of the apprentices, who examined every carriage, and covered with mud those which they suspected to contain the commissioners.*

Monk, on his part, repaired to Guildhall, and, without betraying any embarrassment in the disavowal of his own acts, he said, "The last time I was among you, I submitted to the most fastidious employment of my whole life; the execution of which was as contrary to my own inclinations as to the obligations I have to your city. That being past and done, I can only be sorry for those affronts which had been put upon you against my will. This day I have resolved to render a fuller answer to your letters than I was

* The poor chaplains both record their own ill luck on this occasion, and show that the mobs of their day had a strong family likeness to those of our own. "The streets were thronged," says Price: "Mr. Gumble and I were in a coach, that was becalmed in a crowd, coming from Guildhall; where the general had been to expound the end of his coming. Now the 'prentices went, it seems, from coach to coach in quest of Scott and Robinson, and when they looked into ours, they cried out, "Here they are." Plenty of dirt was brought against us in shovels from the kennel, we defending ourselves with the curtains of the coach as well as we could till the mistake was over, which it soon was by means of our officers." Mas. Sel. Tr. 768.

able to do at Morpeth, where I received them; and, in compliance with your desires, I have this morning written to the parliament to issue out their writs within seven days for filling up their House, and by the sixth of May next to dissolve their assembly; and thereby to make room for the sitting down of a full and free parliament. In the interim I am resolved to quarter my army in your city, and to continue myself among you, till I see how the contents of this letter, and the desires of the city and nation, are performed."*

At these words the hall rang with acclamations, and the people echoed them from without. The letter from the army to the parliament was already printed and circulated in the city; the bells began to ring; bonfires were lit; and, in joy at the dissolution of the *Rump*,† every hind-quarter

* This speech is derived from the same source, (Skinner, p. 249,) and in the same manner as that mentioned in note, p. 206.

† This Saturday, February 11th, was afterwards known as "The Roasting of the Rump." It was not forgotten by Butler. The Politician (Ashley Cooper) is made thus to describe it, in that inimitable summary of commonwealth politics, the Second Canto of the 3rd Part of Hudibras, (l. 1505):

"That beastly rabble that came down
From all the garrets in the town,
And stalls and shopboards, in vast swarms,
With new-chalked bills and rusty arms,

of an animal to be found in the butchers' shops was thrown into them. Billets were assigned to the soldiers, who had been kept up to that time

> To cry the cause up heretofore,
> And bawl the bishops out of door,
> Are now drawn up in greater shoals
> To roast and broil us on the coals;
> And all the grandees of our members
> Are carbonading on the embers;
> Knights, citizens, and burgesses,
> Held forth by rumps of pigs and geese,
> That serve for characters and badges
> To represent their personages:
> Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
> In which they roast, and scorch, and broil;
> And every representative
> Have vowed to roast and broil alive."

An indifferent imitator of Butler, in a spurious addition to his works, called "Hudibras at Court," has also a few irreverent lines upon it:—

> "Last night I was in vision told,"
> (quoth Hudibras,)
> "That Monk had on the Rump laid hold,
> And giv'n it such a desp'rate twitch
> That it hangs dangling at the breech;
> And that another hearty snack
> Would tear it quite from off the back," &c.

The serious indignation of the grave and sturdy republican Ludlow, at this point of his narrative, is infinitely ludicrous. "By this means" (Monk's speech at Guildhall) "he gave," says he, "such encouragement to the cavalierish party, that the rabble of them, as he passed by from Guildhall, cried out for a free parliament;"—(the unreasonable knaves!)—

under arms, and without food.* In an instant everything was opened to them; wine and money were showered upon them in profusion; and the whole night passed in a disorderly freedom, which,

"and perceiving him not displeased with their insolence, they made bonfires in London and Westminster for roasting the Rump, as they presumed to call that parliament, who, in the five years' time that they had governed without interruption, had raised the glory of the nation from the dust wherein it had been buried by the negligence and corruption of the preceding governments, and had rendered the English name formidable to all Europe." (p. 355.) A somewhat off-hand manner of assuming facts, to which a "*Rumper*" is not precisely the best of witnesses.

* It may not be amiss to notice, as a matter of curiosity in these days, the several spots within the city of London signalised as the general's quarters during this celebrated visit, since they are recorded by all his biographers. Finsbury Fields, where the army first halted, is a name which requires no explanation; it designated the ground now covered by Finsbury Square, Place, &c. After the meeting at Guildhall, Monk established himself that evening at the Bull's Head Tavern in Cheapside, for the purpose of issuing his orders, arranging his guards, &c., and after midnight moved to quarters of his own at the Glass House in Broad Street,—a building so called from its having been granted in 1551 to certain Venetians for the manufacture of glass, for which they were then famous. The Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer in the reign of Edward VI., built a magnificent house here, in part of which were probably contained the apartments where Monk lodged. But these quarters were found too small, and therefore the next week he removed again to Drapers' Hall in Throgmorton-street, close by; which building had been bought

rising hourly in excitement, began to endanger the safety of the vanquished. It was neither to the taste nor the interest of Monk that the popular violence should be left wholly without control; and these dangerous transports were repressed. Precautions, taken at the Post-office, prevented the departure from London, the next day, of any other accounts but those which might tend to propagate the impulse; and over the whole surface of England, on the arrival of the mail, the *Rump* was roasted by the youth of the towns, who, on this occasion, were scarcely blamed by more reflecting persons.

by the Drapers' Company from the heirs of Cromwell Earl of Essex, who made himself a splendid house and gardens there, but without much consideration for his neighbours; as Stowe, in a curious story, says his father knew to his cost. To this hall was added the house of Alderman Wale, whereby his quarters were at length made roomy enough. See Strype's Stowe, b. ii. 117; b. v. 181. Pennant's London, p. 388, &c.

According to these details, we must suppose that Monk had no house of his own at this time in London, for there is no mention of any whatever. In Lambert's History of London, however, (iii. 4,) there is a print of an old house belonging to him, in Hanover-square, on the east side of Grub-street, in Cripplegate. It does not appear when he lived there; but it must probably have been much earlier, when he was in London between his return from the fleet and his departure for Scotland; for he henceforth dwelt, both before and after the Restoration, in Westminster.

The 11th of February was one of those decisive days which Providence marks out as final, and which men, when they fall in with them, flatter themselves they have contrived. "This was a trick you knew not of,"* said Monk merrily to Price, when after its success the latter asked him what motive could have determined him to play the unworthy part to which he had submitted during several hours. Nobody, however, could have combined or foreseen the effect of this series of treacheries, always ready, and so well adapted to the moment when they were most useful.† Monk

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 762. And, as we have observed in the course of a former note, (p. 195,) he added, that he could not have done his business without it. However genuine this anecdote may be, his saying so after the event, of course can prove nothing either way.

† I own I can discern no impossibility in his foreseeing the chain of events which, in this instance, would naturally take place;—the disgust of his army and his friends, and the admirable opportunity which would be thereby presented for his intercession in their behalf. It was now becoming plainly his policy to find a good pretext for breaking with the Rump, without disclosing too much of his designs. If he could only surmount the first danger of a mutiny, there never could occur one better adapted to his purpose; and this danger, though some firmness was required to encounter it, was less than that of permitting another to accept the commission. But it is certain that none of his own friends saw these consequences; and he surprised and terrified them. He must

was henceforth the sole authority in England; for there no longer remained any force save that of public opinion, and he had now obtained it as an ally. It still remained to be seen what use he would make of his power. He took care to keep up the uncertainty; for he discerned the advantage therein, of reserving on all occasions the faculty to decide, at the last moment, in favour of one of those parties to whom he had furnished equal motives for hope and fear. For a long time past, the excluded members had entreated him to favour their re-admission. He secretly communicated with them, and continued to protest in public against their pretensions. He had been at first inclined to take a more direct method for arriving at his final object, which had now, at least to himself, ceased to be problematical; but public opinion pointed out the necessity for a course somewhat more circuitous. The excluded members, mostly possessed of that steadiness which is derived from a long participation in public affairs, —of great influence in their counties,—and having now recovered their popularity through their mis-

therefore have surpassed them all, either in blind temerity or in shrewd penetration; and the latter seems to me most probable.

fortunes,—might have embarrassed any one who should try to disregard them. Their return was, moreover, the only ready method of modifying this parliament, which, prostrate as it now was, might still rally and strike a dangerous blow before it expired. On the 11th, the moderate party in the House had endeavoured to profit by the consternation of their adversaries, so as to obtain, instead of a renewal of Monk's commission for the government of the army, his appointment as general-in-chief. This proposal had awakened the energy of desperation among the vanquished, the number of the commissioners was only reduced by two; they had voted that three of them should form a quorum, but when some one required that Monk should be necessarily included in it, the motion was rejected; so that the majority of the commission being made up of Monk's opponents, could at any given moment exercise against him that military authority with which it was still invested.* Arms taken from

* "They passed an act to appoint Monk, Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured, commissioners for government of the army, at which Monk was noted to be discontented; and many judged it an act of no great present policy; but Haslerig especially did drive on furiously." So says Whitelocke; (Memor. Feb. 11, 16⅝;) and it is clear that in

the government stores, had been delivered to the numerous sectaries who were combined by a common interest against a presbyterian parliament; Lambert's army began to bestir itself in its quarters; and even that of Monk, summoned anew within the last few days to deliberate and to act according to its own opinions, seemed to assume a less submissive aspect. It was indispensable to deprive it without delay, and before a spirit of resistance should appear, of all support on which it could depend; and if the officers could not be brought to a concurrence in the return of the secluded members, at least to disarm their opposition.

The head-quarters remained still in the city. Monk had been pressed in vain to return to Whitehall, and to re-appear at the council of state. He had positively refused to take his seat, so long as the oath of abjuration was not withdrawn; and as for his continuance in the city, it was necessary, he said, to calm the apprehensions and repress the discontents excited by the distribution of arms among the fanatics. There he was

such a commission Monk and Morley would be necessarily overruled at discretion by the three others, who were devoted to the Rump.

daily visited by such of the secluded members as were in London, and he admitted them to interviews in presence of several of his officers, who were surprised at the moderation and courtesy of those men, never before regarded by them but as enemies; and who yielded, almost all, though perhaps without conviction, to the ascendency exercised by superiors over rude and unreflecting minds, scarcely accustomed to distinguish between their opinions and their impressions. At these conferences assisted a few of the most moderate in the parliament, who were disposed, if it could be hazarded without placing things in jeopardy, to countenance the re-admission of the secluded members. Monk, in his intercourse with Haslerig, Ludlow, and their followers, always declared such a step to be impossible; but to rid himself, as he said, of the importunities with which he was beset by Annesley, Pierrepont, and some others, he asked Scott, Haslerig, and several of that party, to consent to a conference. These were no longer in a position to reject negociations. They repaired to Monk's, where they found twelve of the secluded members, and a certain number of officers.* At Annesley's first words Haslerig was

* Ludlow, 353. Baker's Chron. 710.—Whitelocke (as like-

enraged and would have left the room. Monk restrained him, and said, smiling, "Let Annesley alone, I know well how to moderate him." Haslerig sat down again, but Annesley proceeded without impediment. Haslerig would bear it no longer, and at last withdrew; and after his departure the conference came to an amicable close. The sitting members especially objected the disorder which would be caused by calling in question the sales of public lands, and the acts which had passed in favour of liberty of conscience. The secluded members promised not to meddle with these things; to bestow no attention upon what was past; and to labour solely towards effecting a future settlement for the country on a more lawful and secure foundation.' There was no discord, but

wise Skinner, 259) places this meeting on the 28th of February; and remarks that "here began the great turn, and the design of Monk to take place, to the regret of Haslerig, Scott, &c." Ludlow says, "he now resolved to pull off another mask." He had become supreme and unassailable as the champion of the city and the army against the Rump; and having secured his position in this respect, the time was arrived for him to take his next step, by enforcing the very natural demand of the nation for a real parliament; which "the crafty general" (as even Price calls him, Mas. Sel. Tr. 771,) well knew would promote his objects, in the first place through violent resentment against its predecessors, and in the second through the impulse of public opinion.

nothing was concluded; and at the end of the meeting, the officers, left alone with their general, acknowledged that, in order to arrive at a decision, there was need of something more than conferences. Two or three, however, less precipitate than the rest, required that the secluded members should bind themselves to pass a fresh vote in parliament for a republican government, and for confirming the sale of public lands. This was staved off by answering, that the writs must necessarily be issued in the name of "the Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of England;" and that the sales of land had been confirmed as far as it was possible. In order not to afford time for new objections, all the secluded members then in London assembled on the evening of the 20th of February, and concluded a final arrangement, by engaging, among other things, to vote, as soon as they were re-seated, the supplies necessary for the pay of the troops, including their arrears,—to call a new parliament for the 20th of April following,—and to appoint Monk general of the forces by sea and land.*

* Price (who is supported by Skinner, 264; and by Hobbes, Behemoth, Mas. Sel. Tr. 651) states distinctly (Mas. Sel. Tr. 772) that this was not one of the stipulations,

He promised, on his part, to demand nothing more from them during the period of their session; and they separated, leaving it to a future time, which appeared close at hand, to unfold what it was not yet necessary to discuss.

The next morning, early, Monk left the city, and carried his head-quarters back to Whitehall, where he had appointed the secluded members to meet him. There was read to them, in his name, a speech which he had, he said, committed to writing, lest he should be misunderstood or mistaken, as he had been not long since. Reasons against the return of the Stuarts and of episcopacy, and showing them how it was necessary either to retire and make way for new parliaments, or to call one for the 20th of April, were the principal topics of this speech, which, being printed by order of Monk the same day with the title of a Declaration, was afterwards sent by him to the House in the form of a letter.* Thus fortified,

but a free promise after they had been arranged. Ludlow, indeed, calls it a part of their treaty, but only loosely and incidentally. In fact, some such measure had become necessary, as his commission from the Rump would have expired on the 22nd.

* This speech seems to have produced very different impressions. Price (Mas. Sel. Tr. 772) and Skinner (264)

Monk caused the secluded members to be escorted by his guards to Westminster, where several

agree in saying, first, that he *spoke* it, without any mention of the *writing;* and secondly, that it was but a few words, recalling their promises, and renewing his own not to impose anything more upon them. But it seems to have contained something besides, which provoked and alarmed the royalists for we find in Clar. St. Papers (iii. 688) one of their agents reporting, that "at Whitehall General Monk made to the secluded members, before they went to the House, a bitter speech against monarchy." M. Guizot assumes that it was identical with the "speech and declaration" published by authority, and to be found in Cobbett's Parl. Hist. (p. 1579,) and the Somers Tracts, (vi. 551;) in which I think he is mistaken. Neither Price nor Skinner so states it, although the former tells us the remainder of the day was occupied in drawing up a letter to be despatched to the country and the garrisons by that post. Ludlow, on the other hand, asserts that after the admission of the secluded, "about seventeen in number of the lawful members," as he styles them, went to Monk to hear his reasons from his own mouth. But the preamble alone proves that it could not have been made to them. It must have been addressed to an audience formed from *both parties*, for he says to them, "You are not ignorant ... that divers conferences have been procured between you, though to small effect; yet having received fuller satisfaction from these worthy gentlemen that were secluded, than formerly, I was bold to put you to the trouble of this meeting, that I might open myself to you all, even with more freedom than formerly: but lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed to writing the heads of what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly to you all." It could not have been

officers awaited them at the door. Certain peers wished to avail themselves of the opportunity to regain possession of their House; but the time was not yet come. The attempt had been foreseen; and the colonel of the guards, Miller, who had his orders, executed them like a soldier, in such a manner as to give great offence to those who had endeavoured to enforce it.*

The republicans, ever blind and duped, were

delivered in the House, since he "makes bold *to put them to the trouble of this meeting*," which indicates some other place than that wherein they would have naturally assembled, and it is moreover entitled a speech, not at *Westminster*, but at *Whitehall*. Again, it must have been intended as a declaration to them *by him in person*, for otherwise he could not have talked of "*these* worthy gentlemen that were secluded," which implies their presence, and his, at its delivery; and the concluding sentence of the above extract also proves that it was not a mere letter, by which designation alone it is mentioned (though not inserted) in the Journals. When, therefore, was it made? The House did not adjourn to Whitehall for the purpose, or we must have found some notice in the Journals of so remarkable a step. The only practicable solution appears to be, that he procured the attendance of a few of the friendly members of the Rump at the meeting of the secluded members, (although they are nowhere mentioned,) and then made use of it as a joint meeting of the two parties.

* Among whom the Earl of Strafford was foremost. Skinner, 265. This was William, son of the great earl; he died in 1695, without issue, whereby the title became extinct.

wholly ignorant of what was in agitation. When they saw the men whom they had expelled so long before walk in again and resume their old seats, their confusion was equal to their rage. Several, and among others Haslerig, left the House, exclaiming that Monk was a traitor. Ludlow refused to enter it; resolved not to sanction, as he said, the illegal re-admission of one hundred and fifty-seven members who had been excluded by seventy lawfully chosen, and a number competent to vote.* Some few returned later; others had remained, and began to take thought for the morrow on their own account.

The restored parliament hastened to fulfil its promise, by appointing Monk general of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland.† It gave, however, to Admiral Montague, the

* "By more than a quorum of lawful members" is his expression, p. 357; and he, a "*Rumper*," has the assurance to talk of Monk's having "abused the trust reposed in him by the *public*!"

† Whether his appointment to the command of the forces by sea and land was a stipulation, or merely a free promise, Price, (Mas. Sel. Tr. 773,) Gumble, (265,) and Ludlow, (358,) all agree in stating that Monk considered this joint commission as a breach of faith, and that he resented it accordingly; the more, perhaps, because he and Montague were never the best of friends. Whitelocke mentions their appointment as admirals on the 2nd of March; "both fit for the intended design." A medal was struck on the occasion,

command of the fleet; and, as if to perform one independent act, the calling of the new parliament was deferred to the 25th of April. A vote was passed for restoring to the city its chains and gates: the liberation of all those who had been imprisoned in the transactions of the 9th, and an inquiry into the grounds of Sir George Booth's arrest, were ordered: and the same day Monk caused a letter to be drawn up, addressed to all the garrisons, and to be issued the next morning at the same time with the news of the restitution of the secluded members, explaining the necessity which had driven him to place the parliament again in a condition to vote supplies for payment of the troops; and ending with the most rigorous injunctions for watching and publicly denouncing all who should attempt to stir in favour of Charles Stuart.

Everything, however, conformed to that incipient re-action, which is followed and favoured by a government preparing to change its course. The declarations against the King and the House of Lords had been removed from the

which is engraved in Mackinnon's History of the Coldstream Guards, vol. i. p. 93, "and is said to be a good likeness" of Monk.

walls of Westminster.* A new council of state had been appointed, consisting in great part of the members lately restored. Lambert was arrested; Sir George Booth and his adherents released, without submitting to the conditions to which they had been at first required to subscribe; and the Bishop of Ely, after twenty years' confinement in the Tower, once more beheld the daylight of liberty. The militia was resettled, and the command of it was confided to men whose opinions could be no longer doubtful. Old officers were dismissed, and replaced by royalist gentlemen. Haslerig and some others of his party went to seek Monk once more, and to remind him of his pledges. The general, drawing off his glove, placed his hand in that of

* M. Guizot had here confounded two votes, which, taken separately, are striking indications of the spirit of this parliament. The *Engagement* against the King and House of Lords never was upon "the walls of Westminster," but was upon their table, to be taken by their members and others. On the other hand, they now voted, March the 5th, that the *Solemn League and Covenant* should be "printed, published, set up, and forthwith read in every church;" and *should* "*be also set up*" in the House; whereas, on the 13th, they resolved that the above *Engagement* should, on the contrary, be taken off the file, and all the orders enforcing it expunged from their journals.

Haslerig; "I do here protest to you," said he, with a solemn tone, "in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers;" and he added, "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the House? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?"* and Haslerig once more left him, satisfied for the present. Ludlow, not less ardent, attempted to conspire, trusting to the promise Morley had made to give him possession of the Tower; but, happily for himself, he met with a thousand obstacles in the execution of his project. Overton strove to excite a mutiny in Hull, and some other English garrisons; but he was surprised in time, and surrendered the town to Colonel Fairfax, who was appointed to replace him.† The army of Ireland had declared for a

* Ludlow, 358.

† The letter from Monk to Overton is given in Baker's Chron. (p. 714,) and is written in a tone of the most peremptory and confident authority. Ludlow (p. 363) says he wondered that one in whom the republicans had reposed so great a trust as they had in Alured, should have taken such a message to so faithful a servant as Overton. But, from the account of the latter, he seems afterwards to have felt satisfied

full and free parliament;* and Scotland, where Morgan had received new reinforcements, was ready to obey the slightest signal.

The republicans, reduced to the fidelity of Monk as their last resource, spared no means to retain and secure him. A few days after the re-admission of the secluded members, they had proposed to grant in perpetuity to Monk and his heirs the royal domain of Hampton Court, which Cromwell had reserved for himself out of the Crown estates. The restored members had not dared to oppose it, out of consideration for him; but he himself, much embarrassed by a favour of that nature, declared that the house was too large for him. His friends, on the third reading, therefore substituted, instead of the title of proprietor, that of steward for life of the manors and domains of Hampton Court; and Monk, in accepting a gratuity of £20,000 in lieu of the estate, be-

that Alured was *honest* enough to have betrayed his commission, if he had dared. The cavalier party had, however, become so strong in Hull, and the troops were so divided in opinion, that Overton had no hopes left of keeping the place.

* "The Irish officers presented him with a pair of spurs, and a hilt for a sword, together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt, to manifest their acknowledgment and acceptance of his good service in betraying the public cause." Ludlow, p. 362.

trayed how little he counted upon the stability of the actual state of affairs. The alarm was great among those whose fortune and existence were more or less connected with it. The army especially found itself insensibly dismissed from all share in public affairs, and felt that whatsoever was done without it would be done against it. Already had the officers complained of the plan for the new-modelling of the militia, and particularly that this operation was committed to men notoriously infected with royalism. Monk appeared surprised; and desirous, as he said, of explaining the matter, he demanded a conference between his officers and certain members of the different parties in the parliament. Several were held, wherein Haslerig supported the wishes of the army, and Monk the supremacy of parliament. At length, after having disputed long enough, they declared that it was time to finish these useless consultations, since the result could not be brought before the parliament, which was on the point of dissolution.

But men do not quietly resign all influence over the direction of their own destiny. The republican party, deeming its defeat inevitable, was willing to assist therein, if it were only to break

its fall. It felt, perhaps reasonably, less alarmed at a new protectorate than at the return of royalty; and those especially, who, whether in the parliament or the army, had contributed to the death of the king, thought themselves fortunate if they could ward off his son at any price. They therefore resolved to offer Monk the sovereignty for himself; and the parliament having, on the 13th of March, expunged from its proceedings the engagement of fidelity to the commonwealth in its actual constitution, without King or House of Lords, Scott, Haslerig, and some others, either members of parliament or officers of their party, approached Monk at Whitehall, where he had arrived to attend the council of state, and beginning with an expression of their apprehensions from the proceedings of the parliament, especially the vote of the previous evening; "It is visible enough," said Haslerig, "that they want to bring back the king."—"If he were to come in again," said another, "you would be lost; you would have contributed too much to it to make it possible to reward you. You would be put out of the way, like Stanley, when he had placed Henry VII. on the throne. It was but a frivolous pretext; but his real crime

was an excess of merit." Monk appeared uneasy; "I have not, either," said he, "been much pleased with the late unnecessary vote. I have mentioned it to some of the most reasonable; and they have told me that since the care of finally modelling the form of government was referred to the parliament now about to meet, they would not encroach on its authority, nor encumber themselves with an engagement made beforehand. But there is nothing to be afraid of," he added; "the writs of election will fix the limits of discussion." His audience did not appear satisfied. "The people," said they, "are always bad judges of what is best for themselves; and therefore, since a single person is necessary, there cannot be one fitter than yourself for the office; and in this we have good grounds to believe all the good people of the nation will concur with us." Monk continued immovable. "I have the example of Cromwell," he said, "and I have reasons to avoid the rock on which that family was split." They answered, that Cromwell had usurped the power against the will of the army and the respectable classes; "you will, on the contrary, have their unanimous consent," said they, "and under what name and title you

please to accept it." "We will give you 100,000 signatures," exclaimed Haslerig in his petulant manner.* Monk persevered in rejecting with indifference the offer of fortunes which were too unreal to tempt him. His ambition was neither lofty nor extravagant, and he had nothing in his nature to exalt him above the precautions of good sense and an estimate of probabilities. The negociators, finding themselves thwarted, left him in order to try other schemes without loss of time, and Monk proceeded to the council. It is said that Clarges, to whom the republican members had at first made some overtures, seeing them repair afterwards to Monk, and, apparently presuming upon the intentions of the general, had immediately informed Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was then in the council, of what was in progress. The presbyterians in the council, eager to catch their enemies at fault, had obtained a vote, that as soon as the conference had closed and the general had taken his seat, Clarges should be called on to give evidence of what he knew, and Monk invited

* *Four* thousand, says Lord Mordaunt, writing to the king, on the 24th of March. Clar. St. P. iii. 706. The whole account of this interview is to be found in Baker's Chron. p. 715. Ludlow and Whitelocke are silent upon the subject.

to afford the explanations necessary to provide against such mischievous designs. Monk arrived, and thought there was not so much danger in agitation: "It is true," said he, "that some have been with me to be resolved in scruples concerning the past transactions of parliament, but they went away well satisfied."* It was equally foreign to Monk's inclinations to destroy those from whom he had nothing to fear,—to cast off those whom he still hoped to deceive,—and to hurry on by collisions what might be peaceably accomplished.

One more effort of evasion was, however, in preparation for him. On the breaking up of the conference, the principal managers among the officers had assembled, and had resolved to compel the parliament, before its dissolution, to settle the nation as a commonwealth, in such a manner that no subsequent parliament should have the right to alter that form of government. A declaration was consequently drawn up, which the army was to sign; and the meeting, before it separated, appointed a general council of officers for the next day.

Clarges was with Monk when they came to

* Baker's Chron. 715.

present him with the declaration to sign, as head of the army; and perceiving that he was disturbed, proposed to adjourn the signature till the morrow at the general council. Monk attended there; and Colonel Okey,* one of the king's judges, who had more boldness than skill as an orator, spoke in the name of the discontented, alleging that the good old cause was lost, if they did not provide some security for it; and that the most certain was the proposed declaration. "If the parliament should refuse to subscribe it," added he, "we must take such other methods to save the nation as the Lord may inspire." Clarges, who undertook to reply, asked them what means they could possibly find to impose their will upon the parliament, strong in the concurrence of the people, who would not fail to second it in any efforts to repel the despotism of the army. "To succeed, formerly," said he, "you found it necessary to impeach, at different times, fourteen of its members, and to exclude two hundred; and now what will it do, if you

* Okey was throughout one of the most determined republicans, and was executed as a regicide in 1662. Ludlow, 418. Skinner (282) calls him "a chandler from Billingsgate."

should resort to violence again? It will dissolve itself without issuing the writs of election, and will leave you without a government, and without pay; unless, after having treated as you have with Richard Cromwell, you should have recourse to his favour. There would be one resource remaining," he added, addressing Monk, —" that his excellency should undertake the government; but he has refused."—" I had rather be torn to pieces by wild horses," said Monk, " than be so treacherous to the country's freedom."* Clarges resumed, and was again answered: the discussion was long and animated; and Monk, according to his custom, taking up the debate when the difficulty of answering arguments began to afford an opening for authority, gravely reminded the officers of their duty,—forbade such assemblies for the future,—took note of the most forward and active, that he might speedily get rid of them,—and the next day wrote to the parliament.

The approaching dissolution was about to relieve him from several of those parties whom he had to humour or to lead. None at this moment gave him so much trouble as his own, or, at least,

* Baker's Chron. 716. Mas. Sel. Tr. 782.

that which he had adopted for the time in order to arrive at his final object. He observed, with satisfaction, that the presbyterians were daily advancing farther on the road to monarchy; but he would not march in their company, and would still less allow them to precede him. The difficulty was to restrain them. Once restored to their seats, the secluded members thought that it behoved them, for their country's, not less than for their own interest, to profit by this return to power for the purpose of taking part in the great change which was impending; and thus to consummate, rather than destroy, by the return of the king, the work of the rebellion, which had been undertaken twenty years before. "If the king must come in," Prynne first ventured to say, "it is safest for those who made war against his father that he should come in by their votes;"* and many appeared disposed still to delay the promised dissolution. Monk, careful to prevent any new combinations, actively employed for that purpose during three weeks the dexterity of Morrice,† his most certain and useful confidant

* Mas Sel. Tr. 782.

† Morrice was returned in this parliament for Plymouth, of which place Monk had previously made him governor. Price

among the presbyterians. Prynne was silenced. The stern republicanism of the general repulsed all premature intimacies; and the most obstinate were reminded of the promise and the necessity of a dissolution. At length they consented to it on the 16th of March; and that parliament, which, summoned to defend liberty, had worn itself out in the exercise of tyranny, found that, after having withstood so many shocks, it lacked strength to exist for a few weeks more, in order to complete its work. In vain did

says, "he was one that much conversed with books." (Mas. Sel. Tr. 775.) Burnet, that "he was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation;" and he has a story, that "when there was a question of turning him out from being secretary of state, (after the Restoration,) the Duke of Albemarle replied, "he did not know what was necessary for a good secretary of state in which he was defective, for he could speak French and write short-hand;" (i. 168;) which is of course meant as a sneer at Monk, as well as at Morrice; for, as Lord Dartmouth observes in one of his notes to Burnet, (in the late Oxford edition,) he delighted in "flinging dirt" at Monk. Clarendon, in his Life, (ii. 224,) gives Morrice's character more fully; and admits, that although promoted purely to gratify the general, he "conducted himself very honestly and diligently," and "did the business of his office without reproach." He was a good classical scholar, and wrote and spoke Latin (which was in those days the medium of intercourse with the northern powers) "fluently and elegantly."

it, by a vote passed before its separation, forbid the employment of any officer who should not declare in writing that he approved of the war maintained by the Houses against the late king. In vain did they desire to exclude from the next parliament those who had taken up arms against this, together with their sons. The *Rump* was no longer in a condition to survive, and no one troubled himself with its futile bequests.

The day of its last sitting, Monk, no doubt at the instance of his officers, wrote to the House to require it to repeal the act concerning the militia, the settling whereof, being placed in suspected hands, might lead to the return of Charles Stuart in spite of the army. Some few, disturbed and embarrassed by this message, apprehended a snare; others, however, had received a private notice. Prynne went straight to the printer to hasten the publication of the act, which, in fact, appeared the same evening; and a large number of gentlemen set out for their counties to realise the fears of the army.

Everything was advancing rapidly towards an appointed term. Royalist opinions, if they dared not yet pretend to rule, were at least no longer concealed. The populace, always bolder than its

leaders, because it reflects less, and has always much less to lose, cried out in all quarters for the king. Royalist songs echoed freely through the streets; and, two days before the dissolution, a painter came to the market-place, attended by some soldiers, and effaced the inscription standing on the spot which had been occupied by the statue of Charles I.: *Exit Tyrannus, regum ultimus*, &c. Nobody asked the painter for his order, and no one doubted that it came from the general.* As for Monk,—ever the same,—that

* M. Guizot is not very intelligible in speaking of "*la place du marchè.*" This incident occurred, however, on the Royal Exchange. The story is told by Hyde, in a letter to Sir Henry Bennet, (afterwards Lord Arlington,) as one of the symptoms by which the court was assured of the progress of the royal cause. (Clar. St. P. iii. 725.) How M. Guizot brought the *soldiers* into it I know not, for the letter makes no mention of them; it says indeed that the man had "a ladder on his *shoulders*," (without which he could not have done the thing,) and perhaps M. Guizot hastily omitted to distinguish between two words so like in sound and spelling as "soldiers" and "shoulders," the latter of which may have caught his eye. The man came "at full exchange," and when he had done, cried, "God bless King Charles the Second!" in which all joined. Pepys confirms Clarendon's story, and says the thing happened on the 15th of March. (Diary, i. 46.) The inscription was, "Exit tyrannus, Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini 1648." It had been placed there by

is to say, stedfast in varying his language according to the individual,—he gave no handle to any definite opinions with respect to himself. The movement went onwards at an accelerating pace, while the man who directed it appeared not to advance a single step, unless it were to recede the moment after. One of the king's agents in London, on the 10th of March, wrote, "On Wednesday he declared himself to my friend that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament both in relation to your Majesty and the House of Lords; and yet yesterday he told him, in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood, rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England; though I hear from other hands he was in good temper again the same night."* His slightest expressions, care-

order of the parliament; and in Baker's Chron. the (p. 619) statue is said to have been, at the same time, "barbarously decollated" and then thrown down. Strype's Stow, book ii. 137. All this took place of course in the *old* Royal Exchange, which was destroyed in the great fire. That which has so lately perished by the same fate, was not finished till 1669.

* The agent was Dr. Barwick, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, who at this time corresponded constantly with the king. Clar. St. P., iii. 697. It is very curious, in these papers, and in those which were intercepted and are preserved among Thurloe's, to observe how completely Monk's inscrut-

fully picked up, and repeated from mouth to mouth, only served to maintain this uncer-

able and sustained dissimulation bewildered even the royalists who thought themselves most trusted. Their letters abound in contradictory doubts and hopes. In January Lord Mordaunt writes, "He is a black Monk, and I cannot see through him." (Clar. St. P. iii. 651.) A nearer view gave him no clearer insight. In February he says, "Monk hath already pulled off his mask, and is clearly republican." (Ibid. 670.) Clarges appears to have been a good deal in the confidence of his brother-in-law; and yet both Sir John Greenville, (ibid. iii. 741,) and Lord Mordaunt, (Ormond's Letters, ii. 334,) send a warning not to trust him. Still we are assured that the general was not absolutely without confidants. Dr. Barwick, in a letter to the king, of March the 19th, asserts that Monk had declared himself fully to a royalist agent; which information was betrayed to Thurloe: (See St. P. vii. 850;) and, among other instances, it is stated in the life of a remarkable woman, that of Christian Countess of Devonshire, (by Thomas Pomfret, published in 1685,) who had been busily employed since 1650 in promoting the king's interests, and had been strongly suspected by the republicans, that she had entered "with him into a speedy and secret correspondence; and though he was one of a most retired and prudent wariness, yet so far he entrusted her, (which he did few besides,) that he sent her by a considerable officer a private signal, by which she might know his intentions; and so managed they were by this brave woman, that they proved, according to his assurances and her wishes, the king's restoration." (p. 80.) The author adds, that "the general in all this knew her merit, and valued her accordingly; and entering into a noble friendship, continued it with

tainty by their variety. It was known, however, that Mrs. Monk, in her reckless mirth, had asked Hugh Peters, who was rich in confiscated wealth, if he was not for a *restitution;* and Little Kit, her son, tormented with questions and presents, had confessed that one day his father and mother had talked in bed of the king's return.* The republicans could shut their eyes no longer. Harry Martin, with whom Monk had considerable intimacy, asked him one day what he meant at last to establish. "A commonwealth," said Monk; "I have always desired it, and desire it still."—"I ought to believe your excellency," answered Martin, "but will you give me leave to tell you a story? It was this: A city tailor was met one evening in the country with instruments of husbandry, and was asked what he was going to do. 'To take measure for a new suit,' he answered.—

the greatest respect to her death." We have seen that he is said to have had lady-confidants even in Scotland. When this particular confidence was made, does not appear. But it seems to be placed somewhat earlier than the present point of our narrative.

* Kit (afterwards the second Duke of Albemarle) was then a child between six and seven years of age. Mas. Sel. Tr. 796.

'What! with a spade and pick-axe?'—'Yes, these are the measures now in fashion.'"*

* This story (Mas. Sel. Tr. 795) is told, with slight variations, by several writers of that day. Ludlow (p. 342) represents Martin as having applied his joke to Monk during his march from Scotland, and as having uttered it in the parliament-house. Price, on the contrary, places it after his arrival in London, though without telling us exactly when; and says that he was "set upon in jest" by Martin,—"who was good at it,"—at a time when every one was doing his best, by every possible device, to probe Monk's purpose. In this he is supported by another version of it to be found in the Harleian Manuscripts, (Append. vol. 991, p. 100,) given on the authority of Sir Richard Willis, an active royalist agent, who was at one time much in the confidence of that party, but afterwards fell under suspicion of too close familiarity and connexion with their enemies, (See Clar. vii. 326. Thurloe's Life, prefixed to State Papers; and Harris, Life of Charles II. i. 215,) about the time of Booth's insurrection. He affirms that "when Harry Martin was leaving England to live in Holland, March 16$\frac{60}{61}$, he went to take his leave of Monk; and asked him whether he would set up a kingly or a commonwealth government. 'A commonwealth,' said Monk. This was after the militia was settling." And the writer then proceeds to give the story of the tailor,—the same in substance, though in words somewhat different from that in the text. The discrepancy, therefore, is probably owing to an inaccuracy of Ludlow's;—one of those which are manifestly frequent in the details of his narrative, and were the natural consequences of his writing at so great a distance both of time and place; rendering him an unsafe authority on the more minute points of history, whatever may be thought of him with respect to others.

Nevertheless, what alarmed some, did not serve fully to satisfy others. The cavaliers did not yet venture to approach Monk. One of them only, Sir John Greenville, knew that he was accessible, and began to watch for some means of communicating with him.

The very evening of the return of the secluded members, Monk went to lodge at St. James's, where, at a greater distance from the city, and less exposed to observation, he felt he could conduct, with greater secrecy, the new affairs in which he foresaw that he should be soon engaged.* Sir John, in quality of a relation, went to visit him like many others, but was always received among the crowd, and vainly prolonged his attendance beyond its due limits, in order that he might

* Price says, "The general being at St. James's, was now besieged with business and visits. His business he very well knew how to despatch; and I do affirm, that in my several years of attendance on him, it was rare that he ever left anything of the day to be done on the morrow. Nay, at night, when he found his secretaries offered him nothing, he used to ask if anything more was to be done? chiding them that they should be sooner weary of writing than he of dictating. But visits (though fit to be paid to his honour and authority) were a new employment; of which the most weighty at that time was the address of Sir John Greenville." Mas. Sel. Tr. 783. Gumble confirms this testimony as to his despatch of business.

contrive to be alone with the general. As soon, however, as Monk began to foresee by the emptiness of the rooms that they should be left together, he said, "Good night, cousin, it is late;" or, at other times, he was always required for some business. Sir John, hopeless of finding the favourable moment, at length addressed himself to Morrice, one of the restored members, a relative and friend of the general, who lodged with him, and who, since the business had increased, had replaced in its chief management the political committee and the chaplain Gumble. Greenville conjured him to obtain an appointment with the general, to whom he had to impart matters of the highest moment. Monk sent him word to entrust them to Morrice; but Greenville positively refused to open himself to any but the general in person, and declared that if he should not soon be able to procure an audience, he would speak the first time he met him, no matter where. Monk gave him an appointment for the next evening in Morrice's room. Greenville began by congratulating him on being at length able to place in the general's hands a deposit which had been for a long time in his own, and to fulfil the king's orders with respect to him: at

the same time he presented him with the letters written by the king at the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection. Monk, casting his eyes over the papers, stepped back a few paces, and asked in an angry tone how he durst speak to him in such a matter, without considering the danger to which he was exposed. Greenville answered that he underwent it willingly, as he often had before, for the king's service. "But in this particular, general," he added, "I am the more encouraged, in regard that your excellency cannot but remember the message you received in Scotland by your brother."

Disguise was no longer seasonable. Monk suddenly changed character,—approached his cousin with open arms,—thanked him for having kept the secret so well, and assured him that he was the person in the world with whom it was most agreeable to him to treat in this great matter. He then began to read the letters. "I cannot," wrote the king, "think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do; and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and to yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest." In the powers given to Greenville, Charles expressed himself thus:—

"I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath done anything against me which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great service, that I cannot easily reward; but I will do all I can."*

He then authorised Greenville to treat with Monk on whatever terms he could, whether for himself or for the army, whereof he promised to continue him in the command. But, according to his secret instructions, Greenville was to confine himself to a promise in the name of the king, of a grant of a hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be distributed between Monk and the army, as the general should please. Since the 21st of July, however, the date of these powers, times and situations were much changed; and Greenville thought he did not exceed his instructions in offering to Monk, with the title of Lord High Constable, the choice of any of the great

* These letters, dated July 21, 1659, were the same that Nicholas Monk had thought it prudent to leave behind on the occasion of his mission to Scotland. They are given in the Biographia Britannica, (Art. Greenville,) Baker's Chron. p. 651, &c.

offices of the crown.* Monk, too well assured of his market to spoil it by bargaining before the time, refused all conditions for himself; and uttering a falsehood, even while he was treating confidentially, he disclaimed, in terms of the most humble and submissive loyalty, all that his past conduct had exhibited inconsistent with the fidelity which he had, as he said, always retained in his heart. "I have never," he added, "been in a condition to serve the king till this present time; I am now not only ready to obey his commands, but to sacrifice my life and fortune in his service:"—and then calling to Morrice,—"to witness this, I call this honest man from the door."† Everything was soon arranged between them. Monk was disposed to trust, at least as much for his country as for himself, to the generous intentions of his majesty. But in order to remove every obstacle to his restoration, he required, first, a general amnesty for all, except those whom the parliament might think fit to

* Price says "the office of Lord High Chancellor, and Constable of England, for himself; and the nomination of any other of the great offices of the crown." Mas. Sel. Tr. 791.

† This whole account of the interviews with Greenville is given by Price in Mas. Sel. Tr. 784-786.

except; second, a promise of assent to any act considered necessary for confirming the sales of land, and the payment of the arrears to the army; third and lastly, liberty of conscience, in as far as it should be compatible with the tranquillity of the civil government. Moreover, he advised the king to quit speedily the Spanish territories, from whence, if once recognised as king of England, he might perhaps find it difficult to escape without some troublesome condition. Monk, not yet inclined to hazard a letter to the king, required Sir John to undertake himself to convey his answer, read his instructions to him several times, and then burnt the paper, exacting a promise that he would not write back to him, nor confide the secret of his mission to any but the king alone, without any intermediate person. This precaution is said to have been directed against Chancellor Hyde, the object of Monk's special antipathy, who amply returned it.*

* That this injunction *was* directed against Hyde, is placed beyond doubt by a note to a passage in Burnet, written by Lord Dartmouth, and to be found in the new Oxford edition. (i. 151.) "When the Earl of Clarendon's History was first published," says he, "the Lord Granville, second son to the Earl of Bath," (the Sir John Greenville of the Restoration,) "told me that Monk had always a very parti-

Greenville made his passage in the same vessel with Lord Mordaunt* who was on his way to

cular dislike to the Chancellor Hyde; and when he sent his father to Breda, gave him strict charge not to entrust Hyde with anything that related to his own concerns, and desired the same caution might be given to the king; and his father told him the chief thing that staggered Monk in the whole transaction, was the necessity of having anything to do with him; which Hyde soon found out, and endeavoured ever after to lessen Monk's merits as much as he could; and Lord Bath's for the same reason." What was the origin of this antipathy does not appear; but it was not likely to be diminished by Monk's being employed in 1667 to demand the seal from Hyde on his disgrace; if, indeed, Ludlow is right in asserting that he was so employed, (p. 460;) and in adding that he "embraced this occasion of revenge with joy." Clarendon himself gives a different account, and says, Monk "came with great professions of kindness," and with a commission only to desire him to attend at Whitehall; and that he hoped all would go well with him, "which no doubt at that time he did believe as well as wish." But Clarendon seems to have usually betrayed this dislike more in occasional sneers and disparagement than in any direct expression of it; and therefore the passage is not conclusive. However, he distinctly states, (Life, iii. 294,) that *Secretary Morrice* was sent for the seal on the 30th of August, 1667, and that he (Hyde) delivered it immediately. The former story, therefore, looks very much like another loose assertion of Ludlow's.

* John Viscount Mordaunt, himself, as Clarendon says, the younger son and brother of the Earls of Peterborough, was father to the famous Earl, and one of the most active and eminent royalists of these times. He had a remarkable escape from Cromwell's high court of justice; (Clar. Hist.

Brussels on his own account, and had no suspicion whatever of the errand of his fellow-traveller. Every one at that moment was endeavouring to bargain for himself, and to secure his own advantage in the issue. There was not an interest or a shade of opinions which had not its representative at Brussels or with Monk, and usually in both quarters at once; all striving to outstep, labouring to deceive, and distrusting each other; but mutually in the dark. Among the most importunate, Hollis and the other presbyterian leaders sometimes flattered themselves that they should direct the course of events. Their intentions were always sincere, but their obstinacy had gained no light from experience. After so many reverses which they had wanted skill to avoid, and after so long a seclusion, they thought themselves reinstated, by events which had advanced without them, to the same point as

vii. 246 :) but this abated none of his activity in the cause, and he deserved all the confidence which Charles reposed in him at the period of the Restoration. Afterwards Granger (iii. 24) says "he was numbered with the neglected royalists." His letters are frequent in the collections both of Clarendon's and Thurloe's State Papers; in the latter case of course intercepted. He was created a viscount by Charles before the Restoration. Life of Clar. i. 356.

before their fall, and never perceived that the power which had just been restored to them was but one of the first stages in that reaction which lifted them in its progress, but only that it might afterwards pass far beyond them. Because they were in possession of the government, which was then vested wholly in the council of state, they thought they were masters of the country, whose opinions were unknown to them, and whose army was against them; and they prepared to contest with the king the conditions which they wished to affix to his return. These were harsh. His father had accepted them only in his last extremity, when the time was already past for obtaining them. What appeared to them their greatest difficulty was to gain Monk, who became daily more strict in his presbyterian republicanism. He had these only to deceive, and he devoted himself wholly to that end. They approached him with caution, and were at first repulsed by his invincible attachment to the commonwealth. The arguments, however, were strong; the men who applied to him deserved consideration; he appeared to suffer himself to be seduced; then hesitated, and seemed to dread the meddling in a difficult negociation, and one which would be

better left to the parliament. The presbyterians attached only the more value to the victory which he seemed reluctantly to yield; and a messenger hastened in their behalf to assure the king that they had at length induced Monk to acknowledge him on the conditions proposed to his father at the Isle of Wight, but on those alone. They implored his majesty not to reject this opportunity, perhaps his only one, of recovering his crown. Sir John Greenville had just arrived, and the king had seen him when the presbyterian envoy brought his propositions. Charles and his advisers, to whom, in spite of Monk's repugnance, it had been found necessary to confide the secret of his offers, felt for a moment uneasy; but, being speedily reassured by Sir John, the king smiled at the tardy service which he had just been taught to despise, and refused to open the negociation.*

* Whatever charges may be brought against Monk *personally* for his management of the Restoration, that which concerned the *nation* more than all the rest was his having effected it without conditions. That he might, if he had thrown his weight into the scale, have enabled that party which desired a treaty with the king, to make good their demand, at least in great part, is I think more than probable. But the policy of such a course, and its advantage to the nation, is far more questionable than it appears to be at first

All parties hurried, at this last moment, to regain their lost time, in alarm at the rapid pro-

sight. The disorder and disgrace of the ensuing reign, and the imbecile tyranny of that which succeeded it, must necessarily produce a bias upon our minds, of which it is difficult to divest them, and which greatly disqualifies us for pronouncing a judgment upon the question, as it was presented to those who had to deal with it. But, even with all our knowledge of subsequent events, it is more than doubtful whether the nation would have been much a gainer by the exaction of conditions at that period. I shall not enter here into the question; not because it is second to any in the history of the Restoration, but because it has been already discussed by an authority far better able to explore its intricacies, and to ascertain its true bearings; and I can do no greater service to any one who is desirous of understanding it, than by referring him to Mr. Hallam's Constit. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 394. Whether Charles would have submitted, or how far he would have conceded, must always remain matter of great doubt; but I think we have grounds for believing that there was a time not long beforeMonk finally declared himself, when the king contemplated nothing better than a return upon some conditions, although he would not, nor could he, with any understanding of his own position, have consented to those of the Isle of Wight; which amounted to an abrogation of all power and independence. This much I think we may gather from Clarendon; (B. xvi.;) and Baron Maseres, in his edition of Price, (from which I have all along quoted,) infers, in a note, that he would even have accepted the treaty of the Isle of Wight, from an expression of his, uttered, as Price asserts, to Sir John Greenville, on the occasion to which the present passage in our

gress of events in which they had hitherto taken no part. The French ambassador, Bourdeaux, up to this period an inactive spectator, made a request to Clarges, whom he knew but little, that he would procure him an interview with the general. Clarges went to his house; and the ambassador, having introduced him alone into his closet, began, with his Gascon vivacity, a con-

text relates. Charles is reported as saying to him, "I myself could hardly have believed it till your arrival, which hath brought me such happy news from the general of my Restoration, *without conditions*, even beyond our expectation here, or the belief of all our friends in England." (p. 789.) But it is obvious that Baron Maseres in his conclusion outstrips his premises; and that the most this passage can prove is that Charles was prepared to submit to *some* conditions; which I doubt not was the truth. That he had no invincible repugnance to limitations, is clear from the terms upon which he consented, in 1650, to be proclaimed in Scotland. On the other hand, if Monk had, from the first, heartily supported the Presbyterians in 1660, when they proposed to treat, there might have been many persons, notwithstanding the general impatience for the Restoration, whose jealousies would have been received by the discovery of a strong disposition to resist reasonable limitations;—whereas, if the attempt to treat had been made and had failed; if it had been overborne by the popular excitement alone, after any struggle between parties, the result could only have been to widen the existing divisions, and thereby to make the king still more absolute than he could ever become with the ancient constitutional powers of the monarchy.

versation, whereof Clarges gladly suffered him to bear the burden. "It is visible to all," said Bourdeaux, "that the general has some great design. He wishes, doubtless, either to make himself king, or to bring the king back. Now, in either of these cases, no one can do him more service than myself. An Englishman would be exposed to risks from which I should be safe. But what I propose is not merely in reference to myself, but to Cardinal Mazarin," he added, in a confidential tone; "he will be glad to have the honour of his friendship, and assist him faithfully in all his projects." Then resuming his own discourse, he proceeded, "I would not say which would be best for the general, whether to establish the sovereignty in his own family, or to bring back the king. Either would raise him to great honour; and the latter would not be the less glorious because the more easy. But in any case he may reckon upon the cardinal; for, you should know, the cardinal was the intimate friend of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell did not seize upon the sovereignty without his concurrence; and it was the cardinal who directed him step by step in that business." Then following up his offers, he assured Clarges, that if the general's intention

was to bring back the king, the best thing he could do was to persuade Charles to move into France, and to entrust the whole negociation to the cardinal's hands; in which case, Monk might expect everything from the court of France.

Clarges received these overtures coldly; and, anxious to relieve himself from a dangerous and useless confidence, declared he was too humble an individual to enter upon such weighty matters; and contented himself with assuring the ambassador that his brother-in-law aimed at nothing for himself, and was resolved to defer to the decision of parliament. "Your parliaments," said Bourdeaux, "are tumultuary councils; so changeable, that with them no certain measure can be taken. If the general omits to do what I recommend, they may hurry him into some step which will ruin him; and with him, in any misfortunes, all his relations will be ruined." Clarges retired, promising the ambassador that he would sound his brother-in-law, and ascertain how far the proposition could be opened to him, and would acquaint Bourdeaux, who might then treat in his own person; being master, as he said, of sufficient English to make himself under-

stood by the general, who knew not a word of French.

To nothing of this would Monk listen. He merely consented, in order that the ambassador might not be affronted, to receive a simple visit from him, which on Bourdeaux's side was confined to general offers of service, and terminated in nothing more.*

* M. Guizot makes no mention of a well-known story, recorded by the celebrated John Locke among some anecdotes of his friend Ashley Cooper, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, giving to Ashley Cooper the credit of having defeated Monk in an attempt to assume the government to himself, with the assistance of Mazarin. The omission, however, is, upon the whole, not surprising. The tale has all the air of a fiction, or at best an exaggeration; and Hume long since pronounced, that "it had not any appearance of truth; (Hist. of Eng., note to chap. lxii.;) adding, that "Cardinal Mazarin wished for the king's restoration, though he would not have ventured much to have procured it." Lately, however, Mr. D'Israeli, in his Curiosities of Literature, (Edit. 1824, ii. 305,) has produced what appears to be at first sight a confirmation of the tale, drawn from Sir Thomas Browne's manuscript collection; but which Mr. Hallam, although he seems to be somewhat staggered by it, observes, is in so nearly the same language, as to be almost an echo of the former version. (Constit. Hist. ii. 383.) It is worth while, therefore, to inquire how far this is the case, and what is the bearing of this new evidence on the authenticity of so curious an anecdote. With this view I shall here insert Locke's story, (which is much the fullest, and is to be found in vol.

The king, by the advice of Monk, had immediately quitted Brussels, and had moved to Breda,

ix. p. 279, of his works; edit. 1812,) marking in italics those words which occur in both versions, and noting each of the few variations in its proper place. Locke then tells us that "*Monk*, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the removal of Richard, marching with the army he had with him into England, *gave fair promises* all along in his way to London *to the Rump* that were then sitting, who had sent commissioners to him, that accompanied him. When he was come to town, though he had promised fair to the Rump and commonwealth party on one hand, and gave hopes to the royalists on the other; yet (*but*) *at last agreed with the French ambassador to take the government on himself, by whom he had promise from Mazarin of assistance from France* to support him in his undertaking. *This bargain was struck* up between them *late at night, but not so secretly but that* his (*Monk's*) *wife, who had posted herself conveniently behind the hangings*, where she could hear all that passed, *finding what was resolved* (*upon*), *sent her brother Clarges away immediately with notice of it to Sir Anthony Ashley. She* was zealous for the restoration of the king; and *had* therefore *promised* Sir Anthony *to watch her husband, and inform* him (*Sir A.*) from time to time, *how matters went.* Upon this notice, *Sir Anthony caused the council of state, whereof he was* one, (*a member,*) *to be summoned.* And when they were met, he desired the clerks might withdraw, he having matter of great importance to communicate to them. The doors of the council-chamber being locked, and the keys laid upon the table, he began to charge (*and charged*) *Monk*, not in a direct and open accusation, but in obscure insinuations and doubtful expressions, giving ground of suspicion *that he was playing false* with them, and not doing as he promised. This he did

from whence Greenville soon after set out on his return, bringing with him the letters and declara-

so skilfully and intelligibly to Monk, that he perceived he was discovered, and therefore in his answer to him fumbled and seemed out of order ; so that the rest of the council perceived that there was something in it, though they knew not what the matter was; and *the general* at last averring (*insisted*) that what had been suggested was upon groundless suspicions, and *that he was true to his principles, and* stood *firm to what he had* professed to them, (*promised,*) *and that he was ready to give* them *all* manner of *satisfaction ;* whereupon Sir Anthony closing with him, and making a farther use of what he had said than he intended : for he meant no more than so far as to get away from them, upon this assurance which he gave them. But *Sir A. A. told him that if he was sincere* in what he said, *he might* presently *remove all scruples,* if he would (*and should instantly*) *take away their commissions from such and such* officers (*men*) *in his army, and* give them to those whom he named (*appoint others*) ; *and that* presently *before he* went out of (*left*) *the room. Monk* was in himself no quick man ; he was guilty alone among a company of men whom he knew not what they they would do with him ; for they all struck in with Sir A. A., and plainly perceived that Monk had designed some foul play. In these straits, being thus close pressed, and knowing not how else to extricate himself, he *consented* to what was proposed ; and so immediately, before he stirred, *a great part of the commissions of his officers were changed ; and Sir Edward Harley,* amongst the rest, who was *a member of the council, and then present, was made governor of Dunkirk in the room of Sir William Lockhart,* and was sent away immediately to take possession of it. By which means *the army ceased to be at Monk's devotion,* and was put into hands that would not serve him in the design

tions of the king, addressed to the next Parliament, to the army, and to the city; others for Monk,

he had undertaken. *The* French *ambassador*, who had the night before sent away an express to Mazarin, positively to assure him that things went here as he desired, and that Monk was fixed by him in his resolution to take on himself the government, was not a little astonished the next day to find things taking another turn; and indeed this so much disgraced him in the French court, that he *was* presently (*re*) *called* home, *and* soon after *broke his heart.*

This was that which gave the great turn to the restoration of king Charles II., whereof Sir A. had laid the plan in his head a long time before and carried it on . . . . ."

Now it is impossible, I think, after perusing the two versions thus compared, to doubt that they are, after all, but one and the same,—that their origin is identical,—and that Sir Thomas Browne's is no more than a mere abridgment of the story told by Locke, which the latter had from Lord Shaftesbury. Whatever confirmation it was supposed to derive, therefore, from a second authority, must be disregarded; and its credibility must depend, as before, upon its own internal and external evidence. Mr. Hallam justly remarks that the whole occurrence is unlike Monk, for that such an attempt must have been desperate after he had permitted the nation to express itself; and he was by no means of a rash character: while Hume observes, that "had he ever intended to set up for himself, he would not surely have so soon abandoned a project so inviting: he would have taken some steps which would have betrayed it. It could only have been some disappointment, some frustrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the least symptom of such intentions." On the other hand, what evidence does the story itself supply? Ashley Cooper says he summoned

whereof one in particular was written with Charles's own hand; a commission of general

the council without delay, and charged Monk before it, that he was playing false; that the council soon understood him; and that Monk was much embarrassed. Now the council consisted of no less than thirty-one individuals; that is, twenty-nine besides Monk and Ashley Cooper. At such a juncture of affairs as that in March 1660, it is not probable that many of those would be at a distance, or that an extraordinary and urgent summons would have been answered by a thin attendance. Among them were many presbyterian royalists, quite as zealous as Mrs. Monk and Ashley Cooper. Is it possible to conceive that Pierpoint, Morley, Fairfax, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, &c. &c., should have been all absent? or, having been present, that they should have never at any time breathed enough of so remarkable a transaction, as to enable it to get abroad, more especially when it is stated to have led, in a manner so unusual and sudden, to extensive changes in the army, which must have excited curiosity? Yet we cannot suppose that it ever did so transpire; for no one writer, besides Locke, mentions a syllable of it. Monk's biographers are wholly silent: yet Gumble published in 1671, Price in 1680, and Skinner (or at least his editor, Webster) in 1723. His enemies are no less so. Neither Clarendon nor Ludlow make any mention of the affair; and yet what could have been more acceptable to them than such a handle against him, both as regarded the other promoters of the restoration and the king himself? But among the members of this council was admiral Montague, who, although it appears from Pepys that he went to sea on the 23rd of March, (Diary, i. 48,) the very day before the interview between Monk and Bourdeaux, (which we are told by Whitelocke took place on the 24th of March,)

in chief of all the forces by sea or land in the three kingdoms; and, lastly, a blank appoint-

was nevertheless in constant correspondence at this period with several of his colleagues,—felt some misgivings as to the designs of Monk, for whom he had no great liking,—and was in the habit of expressing himself in that sense to his confidential companions. On the 3rd of March, Pepys says, "My lord told me he feared there was a new design hatching, as if Monk had a mind to get into the saddle," (Diary, i. 39;) and he adds that there was "talk of a Protector" again. Is it credible, then, that both Pepys and Evelyn, who were in close intimacy with Montague, should have been kept in utter ignorance of so important a discovery as that of Monk's intended usurpation? or that, if they had known of it, they would have both forborne even to notice in their diaries, among many far more trivial events, one which so clearly convicted Monk; to whom they were almost equally hostile, on account of his misunderstanding with their friend, this very Montague? Yet it was perfectly well known that some interview with Bourdeaux had taken place; for besides Whitelocke's mention of it, we have that of Sir Roger Manley, (Hist. of Reb. p. 292,) and the account in the text, given by Clarges, in the continuation to Baker's Chronicle, (p. 717,) published in 1674; though the circumstance seems to have attracted so little notice at the time, that Price (Mas. Sel. Tr. 796) tells us he knew nothing of it till he found it in that work. The few words in which the two former speak of it, confirm Clarges as to its result; for both remark that Bourdeaux found the general "neither a courtier nor a statesman;" which Manley says was the ambassador's own expression; and which indicates no favourable reception of his overtures. Lastly, when to all these considerations are added the well-known reputation of Shaftesbury for profligacy and contempt of moral principle, we can scarcely doubt that the key to the

ment of a secretary of state, which Monk designed for Morrice. But for the moment, keeping only the king's letter, and true to his habits of caution, he refused to take charge of the other papers, which Greenville locked up, until the time when they were to be used, in a hiding-place appropriated for a long time past to such secrets.

The month of April was far advanced, and so were also the elections. The majority they would exhibit was no longer matter of doubt; and Monk, who gave nobody a refusal, having written to the municipal officers of Bridgnorth, to recommend Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, to the choice of the electors, they answered him that they had not dared even to make use of his letter. "We jointly

whole mystery is to be found in the last imperfect paragraph of the passage from Locke, and that it was little better than a fable, (by which one is surprised that the philosopher should have been so completely deceived,) invented by that unprincipled politician, in order to arrogate to himself all the merit of the Restoration. The only other alternative is, that it may possibly have been a mistake upon the part of Locke, who may have confounded the overtures of Bourdeaux with the offer of the protectorate from Haslerig and his colleagues; (see p. 232;) on which occasion, although assuredly Monk was too wise to fall into the trap, Ashley Cooper, as we have already seen, did get wind of the proposal, and denounced it to the council very much in the manner here described.

conclude, that the general's writing would be so far from speeding your election, that his standing would not have carried his own at Bridgnorth, except he would have declared himself absolutely for the king, and without any such terms as they hear are about to be offered to him."* The militia was everywhere constituted in the same spirit. The army, discontented but subdued, made no resistance, though it was still an object of alarm. Severe penalties were directed against all who should seek to excite disturbance or agitation among the soldiers or officers, and ten pounds sterling were promised as a reward to any who should give information of such an attempt. The officers were persuaded to sign an address to the general, wherein they engaged, for themselves and their soldiers, to obey implicitly the orders of his excellency, of the council of state, or of the parliament about to assemble; and to abstain from all meetings and remonstrances. Those who refused were cashiered, and replaced by royalist gentlemen and lords.

All seemed to be ready, and every one in expectation of the 25th of April, the day for the meeting of the new parliament, when it became known that Lambert had escaped from the Tower,

* Thurloe, vii. 895.

He was missed for a moment in London, where he at first concealed himself; and it was soon ascertained that having reached the county of Warwick, where he had before appointed a rendezvous with certain of his friends, he was beginning to draw together the neighbouring troops. The defection appeared general; an attempt was made, for the purpose of securing the soldiers, to oblige them to sign the address from their officers; but they deserted in crowds: the army of London alone remained entire, or at least had lost but two soldiers; but it would not have been safe to trust it; and Monk took care to be dissuaded from the resolution which he had announced, of marching in person against Lambert. He sent Ingoldsby in pursuit of him, and remained in London, where the juncture required his presence for other cares. In this moment of danger he resumed that decision which was natural to him whenever it became necessary.* He sent for Sir John Green-

* Monk was as prompt in this emergency as in others. Lambert escaped on the 9th of April,—hid himself for a few days,—got off into the country, no one knew at first exactly where,—at length made himself known by the gathering of his followers;—and, on Wednesday the 18th, Monk despatched Ingoldsby to march his troops from Suffolk, and with instructions to be at Northampton on the Saturday; which was Easter Eve. A rapid but decisive operation, which Ingoldsby accomplished with much energy. Baker's Chron. 720.

ville, and told him, " If Ingoldsby is beaten, and the army revolts to Lambert, I shall declare for the king, publish my commission, and raise all the royalists to arms in England, Scotland, and Ireland: be in readiness to receive orders."* He then wrote also to thank the king, and to engage himself formally in his service. His letter was immediately conveyed by Bernard Greenville, Sir John's nephew.

On the day before Easter, four days after the escape of Lambert, Ingoldsby was at Northampton, with whatever he could assemble of sure troops, with the county militia, and a few score of royalist gentlemen under the command of the Earl of Exeter. The next day they marched upon Daventry, where they had ascertained that Lambert was to be found, attended by those who had rallied round him in a hurry; a disorderly assemblage, and still uncertain as to the course which they were to follow. While Lambert was on his retreat, and an effort was making to come up with him, some scouts fell in with Captain Haslerig, son to Sir Arthur, who, in discontent with Lambert, and despairing of the success of his enterprise, had just quitted him,

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 793.

though without his troop, which had remained behind. He was made prisoner, but afterwards released on his promise to bring over his troop. At length they overtook Lambert, posted behind a small brook which separated the two armies. He had no more than seven ill-formed squadrons of cavalry, and a very small body of infantry. A few of these men advanced; but singly, and with no design of making an attack. Ingoldsby forbade his own to leave their ranks; and mingling with those of Lambert's, in the dress of a common soldier, and without being known to any of them, he conversed with them upon the danger they were incurring. Twenty-five horsemen, with a quartermaster at their head, crossed over to Ingoldsby, but would not take part with him. Their horses and arms were for the moment taken from them, but were afterwards returned. This sort of parley lasted for about four hours, and no one felt an inclination to begin. At length Ingoldsby gave the order to charge. His infantry fired, and wounded two of Lambert's men; Lambert advanced at a quick march, commanding his men to reserve their fire till they should be close to the enemy; but when they had arrived within pistol-shot, they stopped and laid

down their arms; Haslerig's troop passed over, under a quartermaster whom he had charged, out of shame, to execute the treason in his stead; and another company followed the example.* During the moment of hesitation which precedes flight, Ingoldsby came up with Lambert, and exclaimed, "You are my prisoner." Lambert asked to treat, but was refused. He then prayed for liberty to escape. "Do what you like with us," said Axtell, Okey, and the officers who still surrounded him, "but let him go; what will it serve you to destroy him?" It was again refused, and Lambert put his horse to a gallop to save himself; but Ingoldsby, darting off in pursuit, closed upon him, with his pistol in his hand, calling on him to surrender, or he would shoot him. Lambert's fortunes had too often failed him; he had no longer a hope left to sustain him; he lost his courage, stopped, vainly requested his liberty, then submitted, and was brought back to the Tower, in less than a week after he had quitted it.

About this time, several officers came to propose to Monk to achieve what he was on the

* For these particulars, see Whitelocke, p. 701., and Baker's Chron. p. 721.

point of accomplishing without them. They undertook to cause the army to declare itself, and thus to render their share more honourable, and their position more favourable. Monk did not want them, and would not make use of them. He replied with his usual declarations of submission to the will of parliament. At length, on the 25th, the parliament met,* and the House of Lords opened its session, consisting of those who had sat up to 1648. Monk received from the two Houses the title of captain-general of the land forces, together with solemn thanks; which he answered by recommending them to dwell less upon the past than upon the future. The 1st of May was the day appointed for discussing the form of government which it was best to give to the three nations; and, in the interim, Greenville presented himself at the door of the council-chamber, asking to speak with General Monk. Monk, informed by Colonel Birch, one of the members of the council, went to the door, where Greenville placed in his hand the official letter addressed to him by the king, to be by him com-

* Monk was returned both for Devonshire and the University of Cambridge; but made his election for Devonshire. Mas. Sel. Tr. 798.

municated to the council of state, and to the officers of the army. Monk scarcely looked at Greenville, cast his eyes on the seal of the letter, feigned surprise, and returned to the council; commanding Greenville, in a severe tone, to wait, and his guards to watch him. The council, more surprised than Monk, sharply debated the course to be taken with this letter. Birch, terrified, protested that he had apprised the general without a suspicion of any kind. Greenville, being introduced and questioned as to the origin of this letter, answered that he had received it at Breda, from the hands of the king his master. They were about to commit him to custody, but Monk became his bail; and it was decided that the opening of the letter should be deferred to the meeting of parliament.

At length the 1st of May put an end to this long farce, which no longer deceived any one. Greenville appeared before the two Houses successively, as bearer of the king's letters, and of the declaration of Breda, drawn up in the sense suggested by Monk in his instructions to Sir John. The king, at once acknowledged with eagerness in the two Houses, was proclaimed on

* Mas. Sel. Tr. 797. Baker's Chron.

the 8th, in London, amid acclamations, bonfires, and all that din of victory which for the moment scarcely leaves room to suspect the existence of a vanquished and disaffected party. But Monk, anxious to lay down the burden with which he felt himself charged, had already despatched Greenville to Breda. By his exertions, the 50,000*l.* sterling voted to the king for the expenses of his return, and borrowed in the city, were ready at command upon the instant;—ten thousand in gold, and the rest in bills on Amsterdam, payable at sight. Greenville carried them with him, and Monk secretly directed Admiral Montague to approach the coast of Holland with his fleet. The parliamentary commissioners, when they set out on the 13th of May to convey to the king the vote of the two Houses, were much displeased that the admiral should have left them only a convoy to escort their passage; and it became necessary to produce an antedated order from the king to Montague, to pacify them.* As early as the 5th of May, an address from the army had been entrusted to Clarges to be transmitted to Breda, from whence he returned with the title of Sir Thomas; the

* Skinner, 329.

first of those numerous promotions which were to accompany the restoration.*

Every one hurried to the new fountain head of fortune. The roads were thronged with cavaliers, arriving to ask the reward of their steady services;—with the king's more tardy friends, eager to obliterate the date of theirs;—and with others of all sorts, who had a position either to gain or to preserve. Every imagination was at work,—every hope was cherished,—and every device attempted. Ten thousand pounds sterling were offered to Monk, to procure the appointment of secretary of state, reserved for Morrice. Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, who had made his authority subservient to his fortunes, sent the king in person three thousand pounds sterling, with a request that he would be pleased to continue him in the office of master of the rolls; but learnt that he was already stripped, and his place promised to another.† Amid this active competition, everything became an object of bargain; while cupidity, party spirit, and popular improvidence,

* Monk, in his instructions to Clarges, strongly disclaimed any private objects of his own. Baker's Chron. 729.

† Ludlow, 383.

vied in discarding all concern for the public interests, so as to leave an open channel for that torrent of new pretensions which threatened to deluge all. In vain did those who had commenced this revolution, and had lately aided in its completion, (although somewhat more rapidly than they wished,) endeavour to secure some of its fruits. In vain did they try, while they represented the king's return as the revival of liberty and law, to suggest the guarantees of which these stood in need. Their efforts became daily fainter, and they were plunged by their own passions into the current which they strove to withstand. Hollis, Maynard, Annesley, and all the chiefs of the presbyterian party, had, like the cavaliers, their personal injuries to avenge; and of all the emotions by which they were then actuated, the most violent was a hatred of the republicans and independents, those bitterest of their enemies, of whose outrages they had such recent experience. In their anxiety to cast them off, they thus deprived themselves of the remnant of force which a vanquished but stubborn party might have supplied, and remained powerless except for its destruction. The presbyterians, in the first days of the restoration, were distin-

guished only by the asperity with which they pursued the regicides, and by the futility of their efforts to rally a party in opposition to the reaction of the cavaliers. Some few, during the period which elapsed before the return of the king, endeavoured to persuade Monk to use, for the liberty of his country, the power which remained still unimpaired in his hands. But it was difficult to offer him any advantages superior to those which he might expect from complete submission, and which he had determined he would deserve. He refused absolutely to undertake it, and in the House of Commons opposed every attempt of the sort. At the time of the debate on the instructions to the commissioners whom the House was about to send to the king, he had given strong advice that they should merit his majesty's favour by trusting to his generosity. The commissioners departed without any charge, save to invite Charles to resume his royal functions; and the opposition, thus warned of its weakness, consented to avoid the risks of an useless defence. But when from public they passed to personal questions, and discussed the list of those who were to be excepted from the amnesty, Monk, as little moved by party hatred, as by patriotic

alarms, laboured to moderate the fury of vengeance or servility, and effected the reduction of the number of exceptions to seven, notwithstanding the efforts to augment it. He had, he said, engaged for an absolute pardon; and when Lord Say spoke to him of the necessity for an act of amnesty, whence only a few of the king's judges should be excepted, "Not a man!" he exclaimed in a great rage; "for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived." "Let me be damned body and soul," likewise said Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper to Colonel Hutchinson, "if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." But supposing that such declarations were sincere, Monk and Ashley Cooper were overborne by an impulse which was too strong for their means of resistance.*

* Ludlow, 381, and Mem. of Col. Hutchinson, ii. 248. In these latter memoirs, Monk is denounced for his share in the regicide prosecutions, with a bitterness, which may be excused in such a quarter. "Monk," says their unfortunate authoress, "after all his great professions, now sat still, and had not one word to interpose for any person, but was as forward to set vengeance on foot as any man." ii. 262. If we may place any faith in Ludlow, however, even her account of Monk's conduct towards her husband is not quite correct; for he asserts that Colonel Hutchinson obtained his

Monk had not yet reached his last oblation. On the 23rd of May, he received the king on the beach at Dover; and in spite of the grateful reception he met with from the king, who embraced and addressed him as his father, such

pardon for having aided Monk at the time of the return of the secluded members, and signalised himself by denouncing Vane at that period. Ludlow, 347, 391, But as a general imputation, it certainly appears to have been unfounded, or at any rate exaggerated. Hallam, (quoting from Clar. vii. 447,) observes that he urged the limitation of the excepted cases to four only, though the act of indemnity excepted seven; and he seems not to have forgotten his promise to Haslerig. In Clarendon's St. Papers, (iii. 739,) Broderick writes to Hyde, (May 7,) "About two months since, Sir Arthur Haslerig discussing with General Monk, of the turn of the times, and the danger of his own head, the general told him he would secure it for twopence; and about two days since, Haslerig sent him a letter with twopence in it, to remember him of his promise, which Monk saith he will make good." And when Haslerig afterwards delivered up his northern commands of Berwick, Newcastle, and Tynemouth, we are told that the general assured him his life and estate, and that he was, by his favour, included in the act of indemnity; first as to his life, and subsequently as to his estate. Baker's Chron. 740. Skinner, 352. Lives Eng. and For. ii. 183. Haslerig did not live to enjoy his indemnity, but died of a fever in the Tower, before it was complete. Even Ludlow confesses (p. 386) that Clarges, in pursuance of Monk's desire, stopped an attempt upon the part of Prynne, to except all those who had taken the oath of abjuration in the council.

was the humility of his demeanour at this first meeting, that, according to the panegyric of one of his biographers, he seemed rather as if imploring pardon than receiving thanks. Monk, however, notwithstanding these outward forms, had the consciousness of authority which belonged to his situation; and while he placed the sovereignty in hands so new to its management, he thought it became him to give some advice, or at least some hints. On the same day, therefore, when, after his arrival at Canterbury, the king found himself relieved from the selfish crowd from which he had heard more of demands than congratulations, Monk entered, and without a notion of excusing himself towards his majesty for so great presumption, said that he thought he could not do him better service than by pointing out the fittest men to serve the country. He presented him with a list, which Charles, astonished and confused, put in his pocket, without daring to discuss advice which he was disposed to consider in the light of an order. Scared with the torrent of royalist pretensions which had just burst upon him without modesty or restraint, he now thought himself at the same time besieged by the importunities of the revolution, and fancied

himself already a prey to all the troubles of royalty. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, arrived. Charles read the list with him; and the chancellor was still more astonished than his master; for on this list there was not a man who had served the king, except the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, both well known to want no recommendation to his favour. Beside them were placed the presbyterian chiefs; and almost all the noted men of that popular party, which in the first years of the rebellion had roused a hatred of despotism and a determination to resist. Monk had added to them a few of those whom the progress of events had raised from an inferior station to the management of affairs. These men had, at different times, governed the country; they had shared its fortunes; they knew it and were known to it. It was to these, in his opinion, that a new king should address himself, when he was surrounded by advisers as foreign as himself to those interests which for twenty years past had agitated the nation. Monk had no guess of the senseless difficulties which must mingle with public affairs in the train of a king and court, any more than the king and his minister were capable of understanding a man so careless of what was due to

royalty, and of the ancient usages of the monarchy. But he was still formidable; and the greater was his power, the more dangerous it appeared either to acknowledge or to slight it. After some deliberation, it was determined that the chancellor should look for Morrice, Monk's chief confidant, with whom he was not yet acquainted, and should represent to him what discredit such strange selections would cast upon the judgment or upon the dignity of the king, if it were supposed that he had adopted them at the dictation of the general. Morrice, in his turn astonished at the effect of this list, which was written by his hand, and probably with his advice, affirmed the innocence of the general's intentions, and soon returned, on his own account, to beg that the king would attach no kind of importance to these recommendations, whereof the greater part had no other aim than the fulfilment of his word towards persons to whom he had not been able to avoid promising his services; and protesting that from that day his first study, in all the proposals upon which he might venture, would be that they should in no degree restrict his majesty's free choice.* Charles and his minister

* See the account of this transaction given by Clarendon in his Life. i. 324. It does not appear to have transpired

began to discern that they had not so much to fear from this tutelage which had at first so much alarmed them. Meanwhile a little more knowledge of the country speedily taught them to listen somewhat less to their own aversions; and Monk's recommendation obtained as much as could be conceded by aristocratic pride and the dignity of royal spleen. As for himself, he received next day the order of the garter,* and an admission to the council; soon after, he was invested with the rank of lieutenant-general of the armies of the three kingdoms; and, from among the offices under the crown offered to his choice, he took that of master of the horse.† Lastly, he

beyond the parties immediately concerned, for there is nowhere else any mention of it.

* The giving the garter in this manner, before any other dignities, was an arrangement adopted on account of the comparative ease with which it could be done; whereas patents and other forms (which were specially dispensed with in this case) would have been necessary for the creation of peerages, &c. But it was also considered to enhance the distinction; for Pepys remarks (Diary i. 101) that Monk and Montague (who received it at the same time) were the only two to whom it had been so given for many years, with the exception of Villiers, in 1616.

† Clarendon says in his Life, (i. 365,) that Monk was confirmed in all the offices which had been held by Cromwell; and that he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in addition to those which are mentioned in the text. Pepys

was created Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees;* and to the pensions annexed by his patent

writes to Montague, on the 21st of August, 1660, the news that he had just then received this last appointment; (Diary, i. 135;) and that Lord Robartes (afterwards Earl of Radnor) was to be his deputy. Yet Gumble (395) states that he declined this great charge. Probably what he did decline was the going over to assume the government in his own person, and therefore perhaps a large part, if not all, of its emoluments, which would be required for Lord Robartes; since Monk certainly never went nor intended to go there. The post of general-in-chief was his naturally; but for each of the three other appointments there are specific reasons assigned. Clarendon insinuates that the lord lieutenancy of Ireland was very convenient to him, since he had a great estate there, made up partly of grants for arrears of pay, (see notes, p. 26 & p. 91,) partly out of Cromwell's bounty, and partly by some purchases from his soldiers; the whole amounting to at least 4,000*l.* per annum. (Life of Clar. i. 463.) The mastership of the horse, besides being in those days one of the most important court offices, had very extensive patronage; and the same authority ascribes the choice of that charge to his wife's "vile good housewifery" which considered only money. (ibid. i. 366.) As for the lordship of the bedchamber, it was selected in order that he might be near the king's person, which Gumble admits was the reason of his refusal to go to Ireland; in conformity with what we are told by Ludlow. p. 393.

* In Peck's Desiderata Curiosa (vol. ii. p. 514.) we have the preamble to Monk's patent, dated July 7, 1660, drawn up by Sir Richard Fanshaw, the poet and ambassador, who was noted in his day for his classical scholarship, and elegant

to these high dignities, was added a perpetual annuity of seven thousand pounds sterling on

Latin style. (Pepys' Diary i. 113.) It recites, of course, a long series of eminent services, (some of them undeniable,) in language of lofty eulogy; and closes it with that which was in truth Monk's paramount merit, to be weighed against his worst offences,—namely, that "Hæc omnia ..... prudentiâ ac felicitate summâ, *victor sine sanguine*, perfecit." Among other topics of adulation, however, it details the pedigree on the strength of which were chosen the titles of Albemarle and Beauchamp, and through which, the royal grantor is made to say that, while by males he was sprung "antiquissimâ, nobilissimâque familiâ equestri," on the other side, "per femellas ex eâdem nobiscum augustissimâ prosapiâ regali provenisse comperimus." By this descent it appears that one of the daughters of the renowned Richard, Earl of Beauchamp, Warwick, and Albemarle, Regent of France after the Duke of Bedford, married John Talbot, the celebrated Earl of Shrewsbury; whose granddaughter married Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle; that a daughter of this marriage again became the wife of Arthur Plantagenet, a natural son of Edward IV.; and that a Sir Thomas Monk, the general's lineal ancestor, married the daughter of this Plantagenet. It would be difficult to ascertain, and not very well worth while to examine, whether this royal pedigree (which is adopted by Dugdale) is genuine. All we know of it is, that it was repeated and extolled by Monk's friends, and ridiculed by his enemies. See Tract entitled "News from Brussels;" (Som. Tr. vii. 390,) answered by Evelyn, (Misc. Writ. p. 195. 4to. ed.) but without throwing any light on this point. Webster, the editor of Skinner's Life of Monk, gives, at the end of his preface, an extract from a pamphlet published in 1659, (which must be "old style," and signify the spring of 1660,)

lands taken from the domains of the crown; while in order to retain him more closely about the king, he was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber.

Charles had felt the necessity of strongly securing the attachment of the only man capable of controlling the army, which was still embodied, and daily more discontented. Amid the din of acclamation, the review of the troops at Blackheath had presented no very encouraging spectacle.* Those aged soldiers, and those officers of the old army, whose frozen mien indicated mere obedience, offered to the eyes of the king an unmoved but at the same time irreconcilable force, which might cast off its indifference only to turn

and intended to supply a pretext for pretensions to the crown, which, besides the above extraction, asserts also, that Sir Thomas Monk, there mentioned, was descended, through three families and twelve generations, from Richard king of the Romans. So that, if his genealogists are right, Monk had a good share of royal blood in his veins.

* Of course, Monk's partisans, and the great eulogists of the Restoration, do not admit this. See Gumble, 388, and Baker's Chron. 733. We may gather from Clarendon's expressions however, (Life i. 334.) that it is not far from the truth. It would seem from his account, that Monk had endeavoured, by arrangements for that purpose, to provide as far as possible that the troops should give the king a good reception, but that the result was not satisfactory.

against himself. In fact, this apparent calm concealed a deeply-seated anger, which every day was likely farther to embitter. An army at all times victorious, and but lately mistress of the country, did not give place without a murmur to that vanquished party which suddenly re-appeared on all sides to seize on the front ranks. It thought itself humiliated, and felt itself disregarded. The aristocratic pride of that swarm of cavaliers, who were transformed by the Restoration into courtiers, again thrust back into obscurity all those men who had but lately acquired or hoped for some distinction. The noisy freedom of their manners shocked the somewhat uncouth propriety of the old officers, who felt embarrassed by their situation, and controlled by their habits; while the disorders wherein that licentious youth exulted, became a scandal to a party whose very follies were serious. On the day of the king's arrival, some one seeing a brilliant troop of volunteers pass by, who, decorated with plumes and scarfs, were proceeding to meet him, said to Monk, "You had none of these at Coldstream; but grasshoppers and butterflies never come abroad in frosty weather."* The soldiers held

* This occurred at Canterbury. Gumble, 193.

in contempt the new officers, whom Monk, within a recent period, had placed at the head of several regiments; their meetings became frequent, and their speeches violent; but Monk overawed them, and there was no leader qualified to raise against him any portion of the forces, however inconsiderable. The discontented several times laid plots to assassinate him; at least they were suspected of it;* there was constant talk of conspiracies; and spies were dispersed in all quarters, paid by both parties at once, whom they betrayed alike.

Charles, uneasy at this temper of the troops, and weary of the management which was rendered necessary by a power not yet under his control, longed for the moment to disband the army; and Monk, prepared for everything, carefully avoided any imputation of the least repugnance to a measure which was to put an end to his importance. At length the disbanding was voted, and accomplished without difficulty. Before it was quite completed, the insurrection of

* See Pepys, Diary i. 163. On the 16th of December, 1660, he mentions "a plot against the king's person and my Lord Monk's, and about forty taken up on suspicion." Among these was Monk's old foe, Major-general Overton.

Venner,* a fifth monarchy man, broke out in London; who, at the head of some fifty fanatics, rushed at midnight into the streets, crying as a watchword, "God and Gideon!" and summoning the citizens, with a persuasion that all would follow them and establish the reign of the Lord. The audacity of these men, and their heroic resistance, struck terror into the court, and appeared to the general's friends a good reason for preserving his regiment of guards at least, which had shown much zeal on the occasion. He refused to concur in a demand which he said would be misrepresented, and all that could be obtained from him was that he would not oppose the solicitations which did, in fact, save the regiment.† Monk declared to the parliament that he

* Venner was a wine-cooper of London. See the account in Baker's Chron. 756.

† This regiment, thus rescued from annihilation, became that of the well known Coldstream Guards, which still subsists at the present day, nearly two hundred years from its formation, and took its name from its having been a remnant of that army which was immortalised by its celebrated march from Coldstream. It was originally formed in 1650, out of five companies from Haslerig's regiment at Newcastle, and five from Fenwick's at Berwick, drafted by Cromwell expressly to form a regiment for Monk when they marched to victory at Dunbar. On the present occasion, when the army

had given his orders that no one of the discharged officers or soldiers should be received into the newly raised regiments, which were afterwards admitted to fill up the vacancies in the service.* He obtained for them, as a compensation, the privilege of exercising trades in any corporation they might choose. But while he thus secured to them some means of subsistence, which they almost all adopted with remarkable resignation and fortitude, he by no means allayed their bitter-

was disbanded, Mr. Prynne, Colonel King, and Colonel Birch, three of the commissioners appointed by the parliament for that purpose, met the troops on Tower Hill, and told this regiment that "although they were ordered and declared to be disbanded in relation to the kingdom's pay, yet they were immediately to be advanced to his majesty's service, as an extraordinary guard to his royal person:" (Col. Mackinnon's Hist. of Coldst. Guards, vol. i. p. 101; account quoted from the "Mercurius Politicus," and "Kingdom's Intelligencer" of February 20, 1661,) "and thus began, under the name of Guards, the present regular army of Great Britain."—Ibid. p. 99.

* M. Guizot has here mistaken the sense of the concluding paragraph of the general's "Plan for disbanding the Army" presented to parliament at their desire, August 30, 1660. All Monk says is, that he has already given directions "that no soldiers be henceforth listed in any troops or companies," and "that no officers be from henceforth commissioned into the room of any that shall die or be removed;" which was merely a natural preliminary order, pending the discussions upon the intended measure.

ness of feeling against a commander who had so ostentatiously renounced them.

After the disbanding of the army, Monk retained no influence beyond that which he might derive from his experience in business, and from a devotion, the humble reserve of which rendered his counsels as convenient as they might sometimes be useful. During the earlier years, the knowledge which he possessed of men and things, contributed, as much as his power, to give him a large share in the government; and the secretary of state, Nicolas, a man of business, attached to his two masters for thirty years past, said, "That if the general had not been an instrument in the king's restoration, yet he deserved all the bounties his majesty had bestowed upon him, for his services after the king's return."* He denied

* Gumble, 407. Considering Monk's commanding position at the time of Charles's return, and the great opportunities of extortion of which he might have availed himself against the king, who must have been at first almost at his mercy, it certainly does not appear that he was exorbitant in his demands: He got a peerage, and several high offices from the king, and some grants of money from the parliament. But so did Montague, Ashley Cooper, and others whose claims were obviously inferior, notwithstanding their pretensions; and the only difference was, that he received a duke's instead of an earl's coronet, and one or two more

himself to no one. Being named among the commissioners charged to try the regicides, he did nothing to aggravate, though, at the same time, he made no effort to moderate, the rigour of the prosecutions;* and shortly afterwards aided

places. Charles was sensible of his moderation, if we may trust the authors of the Lives English and Foreign. "Yet we must own," say they, "he was not overpaid for the share he had in this glorious revolution; so great a service, that his majesty used to call him his political father; and he behaved so modestly after it that the king said of him, 'The Duke of Albemarle demeaned himself in such a manner to the prince he had obliged, as never to seem to overvalue the services of General Monk!'" ii. 188. And this is from a writer who does not appear to have composed his life at all in a spirit of blind idolatry.

* Monk's acquiescence in his appointment as a commissioner in this court forms one of the bitterest imputations of his adversaries. Yet I really see no very good reason that they had for specially condemning him, beyond their own furious resentment at the retribution which brought many of themselves to that bar, at which they had placed their king, and at which they would willingly have placed Monk also a few months earlier, if they had dared. None of the regicides had any such intimacy with him as to have acquired a claim upon his protection; for even Scott, who alone possessed the shadow of such a claim, had, it must be recollected, forced himself into such a position in the capacity of a spy; and, though he had loudly boasted of his intimate confidence in Monk, was but his most conspicuous dupe, as he indeed, if any man, deserved to be. In the king's trial Monk had no share whatever; for he was at the time in Ireland, which was then

in the condemnation of the Marquis of Argyll, with an abandonment of his own honour, which was hateful and disgusting. He had no liking

considered a sort of neutral field; and it must not be forgotten, as it often appears to be by the republican writers, that the offence for which these prisoners were brought to the bar, was not the *making war* upon the late king, but the ordering his *execution*. Even if the former had been the matter of charge, he would have been far less implicated than were Manchester, Hollis, Annesley, and others, who were appointed with him. But these men, though they had done their utmost to encourage the war, had been desirous of stopping it, if possible, before it led to the last violence. As for mere adhesion to the government *de facto* after that act had been committed, it would have been sufficient, it is true, to deter a man of a delicate and scrupulous mind from sitting in judgment upon its members; but considering how little fondness he had ever shown for any of the ruling party except Cromwell, it hardly amounted to a disqualification; and in fact the only force which this charge possesses is derived from his unprincipled public professions of duty to the Rump, which, after all, resolves it into the old accusation of hypocrisy. At all events, it appears from the report of the trials of the regicides, that Monk took no active part therein, as some of his colleagues did; and possibly may not have sat. Fairfax, however, seems to be the only one who refused to do so, though he was named; and his reason was a much stronger one, for he had actually attended as a member of the high court on the king's trial; although he soon left it, and had no hand in the sentence. As for the regicides themselves, they at least would not have been much better off if all these men had refused to act, and left the business wholly at the mercy of a court of cavaliers.

for the marquis, whose intriguing dexterity had been constantly employed to disturb the peace of his government in Scotland. He had injured him more than once with Cromwell. But, between these two wily men, the mutual anxiety to do each other mischief was seldom revealed, and the letters from the marquis to Monk, in particular, were filled with professions of attachment to the government of the protector. When, after the Restoration, Argyll was arrested in London and brought back into Scotland to be there tried on an impeachment for high treason, he was accused of participation in the death of the king, and of a formal and active adhesion to Cromwell's government. The proof appeared insufficient, and the party which longed to ruin him was afraid of losing its victim. The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes repaired with all diligence to London, to excite Monk and the chancellor in the business, and to withdraw from the marquis the support which was still afforded to him by the Earl of Lauderdale. The Scottish parliament was assembled to pronounce judgment, and on the point of proceeding to the debate, when a rude knock at the door announced some important message. It was an express from London,

charged with a packet for the parliament. By the hurry of the messenger, who chanced to be one of the clan Campbell, he was supposed to bring a pardon or reprieve; but on opening the packet, it was found to contain some letters from Argyll to Monk,—an evidence of the insufficiency of human prudence. Monk, pressed to resign them, had desired to wait till they appeared absolutely necessary; and "having been informed," as he said, "of the want of proofs," he had hastened to transmit them to the parliament. They removed all hesitation. Argyll was condemned next day, and Monk no doubt received with his usual humility the thanks and gratulations of the court.*

* This charge against Monk, which, if true, stains his memory more darkly and deeply than any other of the long list laid against him by his enemies, has given rise to an elaborate controversy, with which I shall not weary the reader in detail, since I can refer him to sources which contain probably all that can be said upon the subject, and which are easily accessible. I will offer only a few words on the outline of the question which occupies so many pages elsewhere; and upon what appears to be the value of the evidence on either side.

The first charge was made by Burnet; and it was afterwards renewed by the publication of Baillie's Letters and Journals in 1775, by that of Cunninghame's History in 1787, of Mr. Fox's in 1808, and of Mr. Laing's, somewhere about the same time. Of these, three only pretend to any

Henceforward Monk was too little doubtful to be considered of much importance. His advice,

original authority; Burnet, Baillie, and Cunninghame. Burnet is in no respect very trustworthy, (and especially little so in the case of Monk,) on account of his manifest passions and prejudices: at the time of the occurrence he was a lad; and, though observant and intelligent, must probably have depended wholly on the commonest sources of information. Baillie was one of the heads of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and wrote much throughout the latter part of the commonwealth, and in the first year or two after the Restoration. He was principal of the University of Glasgow, and gives the story confidently, but without any mention of his means of information. Cunninghame is said to have been travelling tutor to John Duke of Argyll; and is presumed, therefore, to have had great facilities for knowing the truth. On the other hand, Burnet was answered by Dr. Campbell in his Lives of the Admirals; who was allied to the Argyll family, and concerned for its honour. He disbelieves Burnet's story for five reasons; which mainly consist in the incompatibility of Argyll's conduct after his trial with any consciousness that there were such proofs against him; in the contradiction it receives from Monk's character, and from his conduct towards Haslerig and others; and in the improbability that Argyll was ever on terms to write any such letters to Monk. After Campbell follows Rose, in his Observations on Fox's History; who first recites Campbell's arguments, and then adds that he himself had made the most extensive researches both among other historians, and among various collections of tracts, manuscripts, and newspapers of those days; yet had met with the most universal silence on the point, notwithstanding that among these were many full accounts of the proceedings upon the trial of Argyll.

though generally good, was rarely followed. He withdrew it without ill temper or pertinacity, and

Lastly, Rose is answered by Serjeant Heywood, in his Vindication of Mr. Fox's History; who devotes no less than thirty-three quarto pages to the question, labouring to prove the irrefragable nature of the charge, and the emptiness of every answer to it. He attempts this, first, by showing that Mr. Rose had not himself examined Baillie, (which I think he proves,) and that his researches in other quarters are somewhat loosely specified (which is true;) while it is sufficient to account for the absence of all mention of the letters supplied by Monk from among the proceedings upon the trial, by remarking that they arrived after the *judicial* part had closed. He observes that Cunninghame mentions a large number of original letters, from which he quotes when he tells the story, and seems to rest it upon their contents. In his demonstration of this, I think Serjeant Heywood clearly fails; and there is nothing whatever to prove that Cunninghame did not (which is much more probable from the passage) copy that part of the anecdote from Baillie and Burnet. Mr. Heywood then cites many passages from Thurloe's and Clarendon's State Papers, &c., to show that there was such an intercourse between Monk and Argyll as to render a correspondence probable; though he admits that they were mortal enemies "for some years before the Restoration." Lastly, he replies to the argument from Monk's character by quoting his conduct as to Scott, which we have already noticed, (p. 290,) and towards Colonel Hacker, who is loosely asserted to have been a friend of his on the authority of Ludlow; and by citing a passage also from Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her Husband, accusing Monk of an act of barbarity in having insulted the prisoners, (before her eyes,) by sending for them, that he and his wife might stare at them;—a story

though he showed little eagerness to offer, he on no occasion refused it. Though careful not to en-

which is told with so much of that overflowing rancour apparent in all her other allusions to Monk, and which is of itself of a nature to be so much affected by the manner of relating it, that I own I have not faith enough in it to counterbalance its improbability. This then is the state of the question. Baillie appears to me to be the only unexceptionable witness, and is certainly a strong one. Yet if the incident occurred, it is extraordinary that it should not have been laid hold of at the time by many besides him and Burnet. It is not a sufficient answer to this circumstance, that the letters came after the judicial proceedings, for they are said to have been read in the parliament during the debate on Argyll's sentence, and to have silenced all his friends; so that they could have been no secret. It is unaccountable that Argyll himself should not before his execution have made some complaint against Monk; and more so, that neither Clarendon nor Ludlow should have recorded so welcome and conspicuous a proof of infamy against him. On the other hand, it is difficult to suppose that the occurrence is a fiction; and the question must remain in suspense between these two difficulties. Is it possible the truth may be, that Monk did give some letters when much pressed for them, but that they were not really such as to have any effect upon the result of the proceedings? See Rose's Observations on Fox, p. 22; Heywood's Vindication of Fox, p. 55; and Laing's History of Scotland, note, p. 413, 3rd Ed. 1819.

As to the general argument founded on Monk's character, I cannot help thinking that it may be allowed some force without giving him credit for any improbable amount of sensibility. There is nothing [illegible] incurred

croach on the province of others, he took no pains to defend his own against the attempts of any one who was powerful or in favour. His demeanour was that of a courtier who has his fortune to make with everybody; and everybody knew that money could atone for many injuries with the Duke of Albemarle. He was even accused of allowing himself to be too easily blinded as to the profits which his wife derived from the appointments to places in the department of the horse, whereof he had the disposal.* The man-

by his rancorous enemies, to convict him of a cruel disposition, and it is impossible to feel satisfied with such evidence; while there are as strong instances to the contrary given by his friends, which are worthy of credit in precisely the same degree; and to these, I think, may be added some admissions in his favour upon the part of the former, which tend to refute their own imputations.

* Monk's love of money has been already noticed, (note, p. 37,) and these scandalous proceedings on the part of the duchess seem to have been the common talk of the day. Pepys (Diary i. 110) tells us that one Brigham, the king's coachmaker, complained to him that "Lady Monk" asked him 500*l.* for that place; and she is scarcely ever mentioned either in that Diary or in Evelyn's, or by Clarendon or Burnet, without some opprobious epithet implying avarice and parsimony. To both of these qualities he appears to have given more than a mere negative countenance Pepys, in the very curious record of times which we have so often quoted, gives us a picture of his way of living a little later,

ners and habits of the duchess, still more vulgar and less simple than those of her husband, were in 1667, when he (Pepys) one day came to dinner, and found the Duke of Albemarle "with sorry company, some of his officers of the army; dirty dishes, and a nasty wife at table, and bad meat," (iii. 185.) In 1666, he says he hears that the general "is grown a drunken sot," (iii. 75;) but this rumour is indignantly denied by Gumble, (p. 469,) and wants confirmation. There never certainly were two people less fitted for their sphere than these were for this

. . . . . "ring
Of mimic statesmen and their merry king."

Monk himself, whatever might be his more solid qualities, seems to have been endowed with few of those which tell in society. He strikes Pepys, who was apparently no conjuror, as "a heavy dull man,"—"a quiet heavy man." (Diary, ii. 136, 259.) His wife was "a plain, homely dowdy. (Ibid. i. 150.) One Troutbeck, conversing with the duke himself on the wonder that Nan Hyde should have become Duchess of York, said there was a greater wonder still, "that our dirty Besse (meaning his duchess) should come to be Duchess of Albemarle," (iii. 75.) Notwithstanding [illegible] doubts expressed elsewhere, I must acknowledge that certain legal proceedings in the year 1700 (quoted by Colonel Mackinnon, History of Coldstream Guards, i. 130) seem to prove beyond dispute that her origin and early life were as vulgar as her manners;—that she was really daughter of a farrier in the Savoy,—lived with one Ratford, her first husband, at the three Spanish Gipsies in the Exchange, where she "sold wash balls, powder, gloves, and such things, and taught girls plain work,"—was sempstress to Monk in 1647,—and married him in that character in 1652. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that his mere practical merits should have failed to bear him up in spite of such disqualifications, and that the court should be

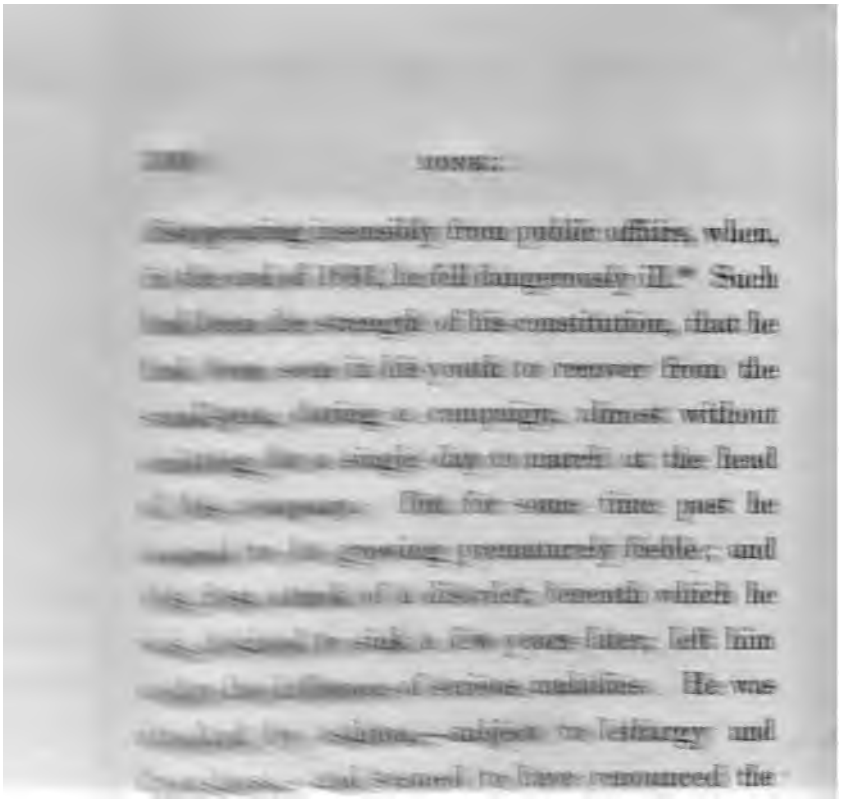
the laughing-stock of a witty and merry court, and cast a ridicule over the position of the old general, which even a more confirmed respect would have found it difficult to resist.

Though he was always in his place at the privy council* and the House of Lords, he was

said to have been "weary of my Lord Albemarle" in Dec. 1662; (Pepys, i. 353;) or that, when even his public conduct had given rise to much question after the war, it should be reported that he was "under a cloud," (iii. 61.) It is rather to be taken as an involuntary tribute to his real powers, that in this state of isolation, and thus exposed to incessant ridicule in so many vulnerable points, he should still have been considered a refuge and resource in the moment of danger, almost to the close of his life.

One word more upon the sale of offices by the duchess. There is a passage in Pepys (i. 251) which seems to show that even the outcry against this was as much prompted by envy as by anything else, and perhaps provoked by her scandalous mode of committing the offence; for it appears that Mr. Edward Montague (son of Lord Montague of Boughton) was greatly disappointed that he did not enjoy the patronage which belonged of right to the queen's master of the horse, as "he depended much on the profit he should make by these places;" and this is so coolly recorded, that we must conclude they were not the only two who indulged in that profitable practice.

* It appears from the Suppl. to Clarendon's State Papers, p. xlvii, that the king sometimes attended the council at his house. Where this was, is not very clear; probably at the Cockpit, which was a part of the palace at Whitehall, and where we shall find presently that he lived for some time.



which, hardly noticed in the first instance, and suspended by the cold of winter, burst forth in the spring of 1665, with such violence, that an indescribable terror seized the whole population. The rich fled; the poor died, in numbers of from six to ten thousand in a week. The royal family quitted London. The parliament was summoned to Oxford. Thither also were transferred the courts of justice; and most of those in authority abandoned everything to escape the contagion. Monk remained; and being charged by the king with the government of the city, he provided for all exigencies, braved all danger, receiving at all times, and without difficulty, any one who had need of applying to him; and aided by the intrepid charity of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Craven,* who, like him, had devoted themselves to the service of the desolate inhabitants, he established order amid this frightful confusion; preserved from plunder deserted property, and from famine those miserable beings whose destitution forbade their going elsewhere to die of hunger; was, in short, the guar-

* Gilbert Sheldon, translated from London in 1663; and William, Earl of Craven, who was supposed to be married to the queen of Bohemia.

dian deity of London; and regained that popularity which he knew how to deserve the moment that he was left beyond the corrupting range of power, with his reason only, and his love of order, in contact with the rights and the necessities of men.*

In the midst of this activity, new exigencies called for his assistance. The Dutch war continued, but the Duke of York was no longer charged with the conduct of it. After a brilliant action, and a doubtful accident,† the command

* This noble passage in Monk's history is enough to atone for many a fault, and displays his genuine, dauntless intrepidity in its native colours. There was here no excitement, no selfish struggle for distinction, to inspire defiance and contempt of the awful danger amid which he voluntarily stood. He can have braved it for the sake of others only; and, with such an anecdote on record, it is surely scarcely fair to brand him with insensibility. Monk himself said, "he should be willing to go out of London to-morrow, and think himself much safer in any action against the Dutch, than he could be in the post he was, where every day men died about him and in his view." Clar. Life, ii. 486. Gumble remained with him, and gives an appalling account of the scenes which took place around them, even after abating something for his inflated language. (p. 415.) What we know from other sources makes it credible; and this is, in truth, a point at which even his strain of panegyric sounds less extravagant than usual.

† See the account of this strange affair in Clarendon's Life,

of the fleet had been taken from him, under pretence of fraternal apprehension as to the dangers to which the presumptive heir to the crown was exposed. The Earl of Sandwich, who replaced him, had just been disgraced for an irregularity greatly aggravated by the advantage which he had derived from it.* Admiral Lawson was dead; and there remained none but Monk to

(ii. 396,) or in Hume's 64th chapter, who takes it from James's Memoirs. Mr. Brounker, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, was accused of having given orders to slacken sail in his name, but without his authority, when they were in chase of the Dutch after the action.

* He had made a hasty division of the East India prizes taken from the Dutch, before he received the necessary permission. Clar. Life, ii. 464. His conduct in this matter, and in the famous failure at Bergen, just before, gave Monk (as Evelyn tells us, who was a great friend of Montague's) ground for suspecting him to be "faulty about the prizes, and less valiant" than he should have been. (Diary, ii. 248.) But both he and Clarendon accuse Monk of jealousy therein; and Evelyn afterwards says, "the Duke of Albemarle and Lord Clifford, I know not why, had no great opinion of his (Lord Sandwich's) courage;" and adds, it was because "he was not so furious and confident as the Duke of Albemarle, who believed he could vanquish the Hollanders with one squadron." It was to outdo him "whom he had so prejudiced," the same writer tells us, that Monk accepted the command in 1666. (Diary, ii. 257.) That this was certainly no very powerful motive with him, is, however, clear from Clarendon's account, quoted in our next page.

whom the honour of the English navy could be entrusted. The king resolved to divide the command between him and Prince Rupert. It was not known whether he would lend himself to this junction; and Clarendon, who was commissioned to convey to him the king's intentions, at first mentioned them but timidly. Monk, in point of fact, appeared disturbed and undecided. He even remarked that if the plague continued, he should be perhaps more useful in London than anywhere. Clarendon persevered; Monk withdrew all objection, and they proceeded together to the king. Monk, with an air which was still thoughtful and embarrassed, suddenly addressed the chancellor; "He would tell him now," he said, "what the true cause was that had made that pause in him upon the first discourse of the business, and that it would be necessary for him, after all things should be adjusted with the king and duke and Prince Rupert, that what concerned him should still remain a secret, and Prince Rupert be understood to have that command alone; for if his wife should come to know it before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him; but he would in a short

time dispose her well enough: and in the mean time nothing should be omitted on his part that was necessary for the advancement of the service."*

His desire was obeyed. His appointment remained for some days a secret, and as soon as it was known,—as soon as he was observed superintending, with his calm and indefatigable activity, the preparations for a cruise,—the rigging, stores and ammunition,—the sailors came to offer themselves in crowds, "for they were sure honest George would see them well fed and justly paid."†

The fleet put to sea at the end of April, and

* Clarendon gives this account in his Life, (ii. 487,) and adds, that the duchess was loud in her reproaches against him, but that "the poor general himself felt the most, who knew the chancellor to be his very great and stedfast friend, and that he would not be less so, because his wife was no wiser than she was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking pains, night and day, that the fleet might be at sea." Ibid. iii. 37. If we may trust an ironical pamphlet published at the time, called "The Cloud Opened, or the Hero of England," and which in this passage appears to be relating a real anecdote, "A knight related to our general dehorted him from the Belgic war;" but he answered, "he was sent into the world upon an errand which must be performed; and whether it might end at the bottom of the sea, as it was uncertain, so it should not find him concerned." Harl. Misc. iv. 152. The knight was probably Clarges.

* Biogr. Brit., Art. Monk.

one month afterwards, Monk, during three successive days, at first alone and then in conjunction with prince Rupert, engaged the Dutch, who were commanded by Ruyter, in the most furious actions ever fought by either nation. The result remained doubtful, though, all things considered, more unfavourable to the English than to their adversaries; but Monk's courage was displayed in a manner to strike with admiration, and even with some fear also, the nearest spectators. On the first appearance of the Dutch fleet, Monk had only a part of his within reach, and certain of his officers seemed not to be free from misgiving as to the consequences of an abrupt engagement: "At least," he said, "he was sure of one thing, that he would not be taken;* and "as soon as the bloody flag was up," says the young Duke of Buckingham, who served on board his ship, "before the storm arose which parted us, Mr. Savill and myself being on the quarter deck, spied him charging a very little pistol and putting it in his pocket, which was so odd a sort of a weapon on such an occasion, that we two could imagine no reason for it except his having taken a resolution of going down into the powder

* Biogr. Brit., Art. Monk.

room to blow up the ship, in case at any time it should be in danger of being taken; for he had often said he would answer for nothing but that we should never be carried into Holland; and therefore, Mr. Savill and I, in a laughing way, most meritoriously resolved to throw him overboard, in case we should ever catch him going down to the powder-room."*

* Memoirs of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, in his works, vol. i. p. 3, ed. 1726. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the passage in the text must not be taken to imply that at this time the writer bore that title. He introduces this anecdote with another trait of Albemarle, which I may be excused for quoting here, on the same plea as he has offered for recording it. He says, "There happened once a hot dispute between them, which will show some part of that duke's character. When we first espied the Dutch fleet sailing towards us, our whole blue squadron was astern much farther from us, so that Prince Rupert thought it absolutely necessary to slacken sail that they might have time to join us. But the Duke of Albemarle opposed it eagerly, undertaking that the ship in which they were, with about twenty ships more, would prove sufficient to beat all the enemy's fleet; at least hold them in play till the rest of ours came up. The prince, astonished at such unaccountable intrepidity, made us smile to see him take on himself the timorous, cautious, and prudential part, which did not use to be his custom; he declared he would never consent to such a rashness as might very probably cost us the loss of our admiral's ship, and consequently of our whole fleet afterwards, which obliged the good old man to yield at last, but with a great deal of reluctance." Vol. i. p. 2. Gumble (p. 446) gives the "Journal of

After a four months' cruise, however, it was necessary to put back to the English coast, to

a principal Flag Officer," describing the furious action of four days which shortly ensued. Monk was violently abused for his excessive rashness in hazarding it after the departure of Rupert, who had been ordered with a detachment to watch the French fleet, supposed to be preparing for a junction with the Dutch; and for venturing to engage a force of between seventy and eighty sail with no more than fifty-five, which is the number he himself asserts were under his command. (Pepys, iii. 185.) The complaints and criminations appear to have been mutual among the parties concerned. He affirmed that it was not in his power to avoid fighting, for that the enemy had got between him and the river; and that a council which he called were unanimously of the same opinion, "in regard that most of our fleet were heavy ships." (House of Commons Journals, Oct. 31,1667,) He finds great fault with his officers; writing "that he never fought with worse in his life, not twenty of them behaving themselves like men;" so that, as he states, "only twenty-five of fifty-five ships fought." (Pepys, ii. 408, iii. 185.) On the other hand, the same writer tells us that all, "even the common seamen, condemn every part of the late conduct of the Duke of Albemarle," (ii. 410,) which he records with some exultation over the rival of his patron, Montague. But whatever may have been the fault either of Monk or his officers on the occasion, the Dutch reaped but slight advantage from them, and suffered severe loss; and Skinner has a story that De Witt acknowledged to Sir William Temple, his majesty's ambassador to the states of Holland, "That by this engagement of the Duke of Albemarle, we had gained more honour to our nation and to the invincible courage of the seamen, than by the other two victories. That he was sure the Dutch could never have been brought on the other two days, after

refit the disabled fleet; and Monk was at anchor at St. Helen's, near Spithead, when he received news of the fearful fire, which, on the 2nd of September, 1666, reduced almost the entire city of London to ashes. The king, the court, the magistrates, and the people, were panic-struck and stupified. The most absurd suspicions and wildest rumours were circulated, and met with belief, as to the cause of this disaster; and amid

the disadvantage of the first; and he believed no other nation was capable of it except the English." p. 389. The same writer also asserts that the king expressed a similar opinion. On Oct. 24, 1667, Pepys writes, "They did also vote this day thanks to be given to the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, for their care in the last year's war; which is a strange act; but I know not how, the blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be loved, though he be, and every man must know it, the heaviest man in the world, but stout and honest to his country." iii. 398. A sentence of noble praise in any case, and not the less so when pronounced by an adversary! We may safely conclude that there was something more than "strange luck," to account for the fact that he was beloved, though "a blockhead" and the "heaviest man in the world;" for it does seem certain that it could not be the result of any personal or social attractions.

In this battle, Monk seems to have received the only hurt that ever reached him; "a small bruise in his hand, by a splinter:" and we find one most singular shot on record; "among those unlucky and thick vollies that brought down his tackling, one of them shot away his breeches, but leaving the skin untouched!" Skinner, 377.

the extravagant fancies and rage of the multitude, which imputed all its sufferings to the negligence or incapacity of the court, the exclamation might be heard—"Ah! if old George had been here, the city would not have been burnt."* The king hastened to recal and employ him in repairing the effects of the calamity; and in the following year, when the Dutch,—who had learnt to despise, not perhaps the English nation, but its rulers,—made a descent on Chatham, burnt nineteen ships, and even threatened London, it was Monk again who immediately set out at the head of a few companies to oppose some resistance to this audacious incursion. The Dutch re-embarked, though not so soon but that the Duke of Albemarle, who had proceeded to the advanced posts, heard the balls whistle by his ears. One of his officers urged him to retreat a little. "Sir," replied Monk, "if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago".†

* Gumble, 446.

† Ibid, 450, and Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, ii. 375. Monk is accused by Evelyn of having advised the war, and more particularly of having counselled the dismantling of the large ships, the want of which was one of the main causes of this disaster. In the Memoirs of James II (i. 425.) he is also

He had performed his last service.* On his return from this expedition, his infirmities, par-

stated to have been one of those who recommended it; but only because parliament had refused the necessary supplies. How far this may have been really his case, it is impossible to say: butGumble stoutly denies the former charge; (p. 433;) and with respect to the latter, it is not very probable that he, who had been labouring night and day to render the navy efficient should have been the willing adviser of a disastrous step which was, in fact, a mere device to save money, whereof Charles was then in the most extreme and disgraceful want, through his own folly and extravagance. When parliament took up the shameful "miscarriages" of the late war, in Feb. 1668, Monk presented a narrative of the Chatham affair, full of complaints of the inefficiency of the various departments of the service and their functionaries; and especially of Pett, the commissioner of the dock-yard there, who was immediately impeached. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. iii. 404.

* M. Guizot, however, has not mentioned, that on the death of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the good and able lord high treasurer, in May 1667, that office was put in commission, and the Duke of Albemarle was appointed to the head of it, with Lord Ashley, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir William Coventry, and Sir Joseph Duncombe, as his colleagues. This office he filled till his death. Pepys, however, says of him, that the first of these was "only for a puppet to give honour to the rest;" (iii. 223;) and it must be owned that this statement seems to be confirmed by Clarendon's account of the selection of the persons to be named. Life, iii. 245. That he was not, however, considered as a mere cypher at this period, without any influence in matters of state, is proved by a curious letter to him in the preceding March, from Sir William Temple, pressing for his assistance

ticularly his asthma, and threatenings of dropsy, increased much in violence. He felt himself incapable of labour, and set out for his seat at New Hall, in the county of Essex,* rather to die

in an application for a subsidy to the Bishop of Munster, who was in arms against the French and Dutch. Sir W. Temple's works, i. 230.

* New Hall stood a few miles beyond Chelmsford, and was a place of some historical note, in consequence of the rank and celebrity of the many successive proprietors through whose hands it passed. Morant, in his History of Essex, (vol. ii. p. 14,) gives a full account of it, together with a print of the fine old English house, which he says was placed in a park adorned by one of the noblest lime-tree avenues in the kingdom. The manor originally formed a part of the great possessions of Waltham Abbey; but, through some unexplained cause, fell to the crown in the fifteenth century, after having passed through some intermediate private hands. By Henry VII. it was granted to Thomas Boteler, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, in consideration of the services and sufferings of his brother for the sake of the house of Lancaster. Through his daughter it descended to Anne Boleyn's family, who sold it to Henry VIII. It was a favourite possession of his, and received from his partiality the name of *Beaulieu*. Elizabeth once more granted it away, to Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex; by whose successors it was sold to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. From his son it was sequestered by the parliament, who sold it to Oliver Cromwell in 1651; "the consideration money being 5*s.*, and the computed yearly value £1,309. 12*s.* 3$\frac{3}{4}$*d.*," (Morant, Hist. of Essex, ii. 15.) In 1653, he exchanged it for Hampton Court, "paying the difference in proportion;" (Parl. Hist. xx. 223;) and it was afterwards sold to three London

in the peaceful repose of the country than with any hope of obtaining thence any relief. He attended little to the physicians, rejected all their remedies, and, with a melancholy which had affected him for several years past, but of which he had never either spoken or explained the cause to any one, when Gumble, who was still his chaplain, pressed him to bestow care upon his health, he answered, "Why should I desire to live?"* One of his neighbours at New Hall, however, formerly an officer in his army, mentioned to him certain pills said to be sovereign against the dropsy, which were sold at Bristol by one Sermon, who had also served under his orders in Scotland, as a private soldier. This advice and remedy from ancient comrades inspired the old general with more confidence than the skill of the physicians. He sent for Sermon's pills, and found himself so much recovered by them for a time, that he returned to London at the close of the

citizens for £18,000. After the Restoration it was bought once more (it does not appear from whom) for the Duke of Albemarle; and was finally sold by the second duchess. The subsequent proprietors pulled down part of the great mansion which had lodged so many celebrated owners, and the remainder is now said to be occupied by a nunnery.

* Gumble, 456.

summer.* But soon after his arrival, in the latter end of December, 1669, the dropsy made alarming progress, and Monk, who was too intrepid to lose on this occasion his habit of seeing things in their true light, himself announced that he had but a few days to live. One remaining care was still deeply rooted in his heart. It was the marriage of his son Christopher with Lady Elizabeth Cavendish,† grand-daughter of the Duke of Newcastle. He hastened its completion with the same activity, and the same minute

* After the exile of Clarendon in 1667, Monk bought the famous house which had been built by him, at a cost, as it was said, of £50,000; and which was known by the common nickname of "Dunkirk House," because it was supposed that the sum had been obtained from the purchase money paid by France for the town and port of Dunkirk. It was afterwards called Albemarle House, and gave its name to Albemarle-street, upon the ground occupied by part of which, and by Stafford-street, it stood. The extravagance of the second duke obliged him to sell it, in 1683, and it was then pulled down. See Evelyn, Diary, ii. 280, iii. 96. Smith's Antiqu. of Westm., &c.

† This lady was so strange, as to be thought to have in some measure driven the second duke into his abandoned habits. After his death she was left with an enormous fortune, and married Lord (afterwards the Duke of) Montague, as the emperor of China; refusing to bestow her hand on any but a sovereign prince. See this curious story in Granger, iv. 158; she had no issue, and died in 1738.

solicitude, as he could have applied to it in full health; and on the 30th of December the marriage was actually celebrated in his chamber, which he never quitted more. Nothing from that moment could rouse him from his indifference to others as well as to himself. An attempt was made to persuade him to recommend his family to the favour of the king, who came to see him almost daily. "It is useless," said he; "I do not doubt the kindness of the king for me and mine."* He listened but coldly to Gumble's discourses, who thought himself bound to prepare him for his approaching end, and spoke of it himself with the same coolness to his friends, whom he continued to receive.† At length, on the 3rd of January,‡ about nine o'clock in the morning, while sitting silently in his chair, he sighed, turned his head aside, and expired. He was a man capable of great things, though he had no greatness of soul; and who deserved

* Gumble, 461.

† According to Gumble, (p. 471,) "he inclined much to the rigidest points of predestination, and the absolute decrees," which the chaplain seems to consider rather as a soldier's creed. His apparent belief in predictions, appears to have belonged to the same turn of mind. See *ante*, p. 127.

‡ 1670.

a better name than he has left in history, although it has been reproached not wholly without justice.*

* Whatever were Monk's real faults and offences, they have done far less to disparage his fame in history, than the furious party passion of which it has been at all times the chosen prey. His moral vices, avarice and falsehood, although odious and ignoble, are unhappily not peculiar; they may serve to brand his memory, but it is with no distinctive mark which should consign it to unwonted infamy. To enumerate the great names which have been tarnished with the first, would be but to abuse the patience of the reader. Monk's love of money, if it was mean and niggardly, at least does not appear to have been rapacious or tyrannical. He practised, or rather sanctioned, the disgraceful sale of patronage in high office; but it was at a time when, amid the prostration of public principle, such crimes were less censured than their avowal. We have reason to conclude that the judgment of his own day was pronounced less against their substance than against their method and degree; and we have no right to charge him with having gratified this passion at the expense of private right, or with having at any time used his power as an engine of extortion. In dissimulation, on the other hand, though he has probably never been surpassed, it would be difficult to prove that he has not had his equals; and even among his contemporaries, if, as Mr. Hallam says, Cromwell's was less refined, (see *anté*, note, p. 189,) we must add that it was not a whit less perfidious, or even blasphemous, than Monk's. As for his great political delinquency, that of having effected the Restoration without conditions, we have already observed (note, p. 253) that it is a doubtful charge; and there is no question, that the bitterness of many of his accusers was excited less by that omission, than by

He was buried at Westminster, among the tombs of the kings, in the chapel of Henry VII.

his having effected it at all, or having effected it without their help. There are few men in history whose character has been so disfigured, and whose fame has been so distorted by the violence of private and of party contention. The vices and misdeeds of Cromwell, though not absolutely undiscernible, are shrouded and screened by the halo of his dazzling usurpation. But the very nature of Monk's great achievement substituted a power more exalted than his own; beneath which he fell into a subordinate position; towards which were directed all the aspirations, while it was exempt from the resentments, of the Restoration; and which left him without authority to over-shadow, or splendour to outshine, his faults. We find him indeed on the one side extolled as a spotless hero, but on the other denounced as an ignoble savage. Much of the praise, however, was prompted by selfish interests; and the incense of adulation which was offered to the name and memory of the Restorer, was often meant to rise beyond, and to propitiate the Restored with its grateful odour. But the rancour of his detractors was of a nature which knew no bounds. Injury is never more difficult to bear than when it comes as the punishment of credulity. His adversaries found they were overthrown, but they also felt they were outwitted; and it should not escape us, that in their case the keen resentment of the vanquished foe was still farther whetted by the conscious humiliation of the dupe. Through this mist of conflicting passions, we may nevertheless discern that he really answered to neither portraiture. He was endowed with great capacities, and with some attractions. His vices were few; but, like his virtues also, with the exception of his heroic courage, they wanted dignity and elevation. He

Charles II. in person followed the procession. But no monument was raised to his memory,

played an exalted part, and has left a memorable name, in the annals of his country; he was eminent among the most illustrious of his fertile times; and if he was not a great man, it was chiefly because he wanted a loftier ambition, and perhaps a wider field. A series of campaigns against Irish and Scotch insurgents, and five years of undisturbed government at Dalkeith, were not the most favourable opportunities for reaping a harvest of great renown. If he had chosen, on the fall of Richard Cromwell, to throw for the great stake of sovereign power, either in England or within his own command, he might very probably have succeeded for a time at least, and have taken that place among the great usurpers of the world, for which I see no reason to believe that he was not qualified. Even later, and after the restoration of the Long Parliament, when this was proposed to him by others, it is by no means clear that the prize was absolutely beyond his reach. Nay, even if, after the restoration of the monarchy, he had made the most of his paramount claims,—had grasped at the power of the state, instead of the patronage of the court,—and had made himself the champion of his army, instead of lending aid to its dissolution, who shall say that with his faculties he might not have left a name in history among the great ministers who have ruled with pre-eminent authority the destinies of their country? But though he may have possessed the requisite qualifications of intellect and energy, he wanted the restless and unsatisfied spirit which prompts them to action; he let slip—whether for good or evil is another question—these splendid opportunities; he grasped at nothing beyond the accumulation of wealth, and what Ludlow calls (p. 390) "the parchment honour" of his dukedom; and after having been recognised as

and all that remains is the effigy which was used at his funeral, preserved in a wooden

another founder of the monarchy, was content to sink into a second, or even third-rate station, and to sit down beneath its shade as an ordinary subject.

His person is described by his two biographers, who knew it intimately; and making allowance for something of flattery in the portraits, we may glean enough to bring him tolerably before our eyes. "He was of a very comely personage," says Gumble, "his countenance very manly and majestic, the whole fabric of his body very strong; .... he never was known to desire meat or drink till called to it, which was but once a day, and seldom drank but at his meal: he was of a great natural force; his eyes were a little deficient at a distance, but near-hand very excellently useful, being able to the last to read the worst hand-writing without spectacles; his ears were so quick that it was dangerous to whisper in the room, without you would have him privy to your discourse." (p. 465.) "His diligence and painfulness was much admired by all that knew him, being unwearied in business. His manner of life at Dalkeith is not to be omitted, which may be no ill example to others who are entrusted with the managing of public affairs. He was always an early riser in the morning, where, after dressing and closet retirement, which were all finished before seven of the clock;...he wholly attended public affairs, ... and after dinner he returned to the same public offices and services." (p. 473.) Skinner's account is, that "his person was rather comely than elegant. His stature was of the middle size, but contrived for strength and action. In his countenance there appeared something very great and august, yet without pride. His aspect was so truly martial, that they who knew him not might have taken him for a general, and collected the ideas of an hero from the lines of his face. His eyesight served

case.* His son Christopher died childless in 1688.†

him to the last upon nearer objects, though at remote distances it was somewhat defective; which imperfection was in some measure recompensed to him, with a very extraordinary quickness of hearing, wherein he did so very much excel that it was dangerous to whisper a secret in the same room with him." (p. 417.) "His constitution . . . enabled him to live with very little sleep . . . upon the same account, he was capable of enduring long and frequent fasting, when imposed upon him either by religion, necessity, or business, without any observable prejudice to his health, or any other inconvenience. In his palate, he was not curious or at all studious how to gratify it." (p. 418.) We have already seen that one of his habits was to chew tobacco, which, however, appears not to have been uncommon among the gentlemen of that day.

* This is now no longer commonly shown, although it is still preserved in a lumber closet. It is clothed in what is said to have been his armour. He lies buried in a small vault just large enough to admit two leaden coffins; the one containing his remains, and the other those of Montague, whose body was also buried here, having been rescued from the sea after the catastrophe in which he perished at Southwold, or Sole, Bay. Clarke's Life of James II. i. 469. Cecil, Antiqu. of St. Peter's, Westminster, i. 125. Stow seems to talk of a monument, but there is none, I believe, in existence; and he may perhaps have meant to speak merely of his tomb. See Strype's Stow, b. vi. p. 18.

† Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, lived a life of waste and profligacy; was sent as governor to Jamaica, under James the Second; and in consequence, as it is said, of his drinking and disorder, died there in 1688. Granger, iv. 266.

His government was rendered remarkable by its having been that under which the island was visited by the celebrated naturalist, Sir Hans Sloane, who went as his physician. His father is said to have left him a sum of £400,000. Lives, Eng. and For. ii. 188. After his death, the Albemarle estate, which was, according to Evelyn, worth £11,000. a year, gave rise to a famous will cause between the Earl of Bath and Lord Montague, in which litigation the parties are said to have spent £20,000; and which ended in the defeat of the former, with a strong imputation of forgery. See Evelyn, Diary, iii. 354, 392.

THE END.

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